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THE

Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT, AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. XXVI.—NEW SERIES, No. 1069.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MAY 2, 1866.

PRICE { UNSTAMPED.. 5d.
STAMPED..... 6d.

TO the ELECTORS of the BOROUGH of NOTTINGHAM.

GENTLEMEN,—
The decision of a Committee of the House of Commons has deprived me of a seat in Parliament, and dissolved the connection between us.

Conscious of a sincere desire throughout this struggle that nothing dishonourable should be done or said, by myself or by my supporters, I forbear to reproach those, few in number, by whose weakness or fault my name has been associated with practices which I regard with the utmost detestation.

It would ill become me, however, not cordially to acknowledge the many tokens of respect and kindness which I have received, amidst all the bitterness of this contest, and the earnestness and devotion which have been shown on my behalf.

In the honourable and consistent endeavours of my friends to maintain law and order, and the liberty of English citizens, in the face of difficulties which I think have not been fully appreciated, you have had my warmest sympathy, and will ever be entitled to my grateful remembrance.

I venture, in bidding you farewell, to express the hope that our painful recollections of the past may at no distant day give place to congratulation that violence and corruption have ceased in Nottingham elections, and that the stream of legislation and freedom is no longer poisoned at the fountain-head.

This result alone can in any measure compensate for the toil, annoyance, and humiliation to which we have been subjected.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,
SAMUEL MORLEY.

London, 24th April, 1866.

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

SERVICES AT THE SEVENTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY.

MORNING.—The Anniversary of the Mission House, Blomfield-street, Finsbury, will be celebrated by the Divine Blessing upon the several Services of the Anniversary.

AFTERNOON.—A Meeting of Directors and Delegates will be held at the Mission House, Blomfield-street, at Three o'clock, to which the attendance of Directors, both Town and Country, is respectfully invited.

EVENING.—WEIGH HOUSE CHAPEL.—The Rev. GEO. WILKINSON, of Chelmsford, will preach to the Juvenile Friends of the Society. Service to begin at Seven o'clock.

TUESDAY, MAY 8TH.

EVENING.—FETTER LANE WELSH CHAPEL.—Rev. ROWLAND WILLIAMS, of Bangor, will preach in the Welsh language. Service to begin at Seven o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 9TH.

MORNING.—SURREY CHAPEL.—Sermon by the Rev. DAVID THOMAS, B.A., of Bristol.

EVENING.—TABERNACLE.—Sermon by the Rev. CHAS. VINCE, of Birmingham.

Morning Service to commence at Half-past Ten, Evening at Half-past Six o'clock.

THURSDAY, MAY 10TH.

MORNING.—THE ANNUAL PUBLIC MEETING will be held at EXETER HALL, STRAND.

Chair to be taken at Ten o'clock precisely, by the

Right Hon. the EARL of SHAFTESBURY, K.G.

EVENING.—THE ANNUAL JUVENILE MEETING will be held at the POULTRY CHAPEL.

Chair to be taken at Six o'clock, by

JAMES SIDEBOTTOM, Esq., of Manchester.

FRIDAY, MAY 11TH.

EVENING.—The Ordinance of the Lord's Supper will be administered to Stated Communicants of Christian Churches who produce Tickets from their respective Ministers, at the following Places of Worship:—

To Preside.
Craven-hill Chapel Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel, M.A.

Stepney Meeting Rev. Josiah Viney.

Craven Chapel Rev. R. D. Wilson.

Falcon-square Chapel Rev. J. Sidney Hall.

Union Chapel, Islington Rev. John Stoughton.

Kingsland Congregational Church Rev. Dr. J. R. Campbell.

Hanover Chapel, Peckham Rev. J. Guinness Rogers, B.A.

Trevor Chapel, Brompton Rev. Dr. A. M. Brown.

Lewisham High-road Chapel Rev. Arthur Tidman, D.D.

Park Chapel, Camden Town Rev. J. C. Harrison.

New Tabernacle Rev. W. Cuthbertson.

Services to begin at Seven o'clock.

LORD'S DAY, MAY 13TH.

Sermons will be preached, and Collections made, at various Places of Worship, in London and its Vicinity.

Admission to Exeter Hall will be by Tickets, which may be obtained at the Mission House, Blomfield-street, Finsbury.

A Collection in aid of the Funds of the Society will be made in connection with each Service.

ROBERT ROBINSON, } Home Secretaries,
W. FAIRBROTHER, }

Mission House, Blomfield-street, Finsbury,
April 30, 1866.

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

On MONDAY NEXT, MAY 7th, the Rev. GEORGE WILKINSON, of Chelmsford, will preach a SERMON, specially addressed to the Juvenile Friends of the Society, at the WEIGH HOUSE CHAPEL.

Service to commence at Seven o'clock.

HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

THE FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING of the SOCIETY will be held on TUESDAY EVENING, May 8th, in the POULTRY CHAPEL. SAMUEL MORLEY, Esq., Treasurer of the Society, will take the Chair at Half-past Six o'clock.

The Rev. Dr. Halley, President of New College; the Rev. R. Bagnall, of Scarborough; the Rev. H. D. Northrop, B.A., the Rev. Dr. Ferguson, H. W. Dobell, Esq., and other gentlemen, are expected to address the meeting.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the IRISH EVANGELICAL SOCIETY and CONGREGATIONAL HOME MISSION will be held on MONDAY EVENING, May 7th, in the POULTRY CHAPEL.

The Chair will be taken by the Treasurer, CHARLES REED, Esq., F.S.A., at Half-past Six o'clock precisely.

The Meeting will be addressed by the Rev. John Stoughton, of Kensington; the Rev. J. G. Rogers, B.A., of Clapham; the Rev. William Guest, of Pentonville; the Rev. Andrew Reed, B.A., of St. Leonard's; the Rev. S. Hebditch, of Bristol; and the Rev. Robert Sewell, of Londonderry.

MOTTOES OF THE SYSTEMATIC BENEFICENCE SOCIETY.—Loving without sect, Giving without stint, Praying without let, and Praising without end.

THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

SYSTEMATIC BENEFICENCE SOCIETY

will (D.V.) be held in the Large Room, EXETER HALL, on WEDNESDAY EVENING, 2nd May, 1866.

ROBERT CULLING HANBURY, Esq., M.P. for Middlesex, will take the Chair at a Quarter to Seven o'clock.

Brief Addresses will be delivered on Partial Pauperism, Ignorance, Vice, and Crime, at Home; Prevalent Superstition, Infidelity, and Idolatry Abroad; and the Paramount Duty, Obvious Means, and Glorious Privilege, of striving to overtake and abolish these giant evils; by Rev. W. W. Champneys, D.D., Canon of St. Paul's, &c.; Rev. A. Thomson, D.D., of Edinburgh; Rev. T. Binney, of Weigh House Chapel, E.C.; Rev. W. Edmond, D.D., of Highbury, N.; Rev. W. B. Morrison, M.A., of Halifax; Rev. T. Aveling, of Kingsland, N.E.; Rev. Charles Vince, of Birmingham; Rev. S. Minton, M.A., of Eaton Chapel, S.W.; Rev. Arthur Russell, of Manchester; Rev. E. E. Jenkins, of Hackney, N.E.; Rev. A. M. Symington, B.A., of Dumfries; Rev. Luke Wiseman, of Lambeth, S.; Rev. W. Chalmers, M.A., of Paddington, W.; Rev. John Ross, of Hackney, N.E.; and it is expected that the Rev. W. Taylor, late of Australia; John Murdoch, Esq., late of Calcutta; Messrs. Salmon, William, son, Hill, G. M. Murphy, and other Gentlemen, will take part in the proceedings.

The Collection will be made at a Quarter to Nine o'clock.

NOTICES TO THE PUBLIC.

1. The Doors open at a Quarter past Six o'clock.
2. The Organ will be played from half-past Six o'clock, and during the Hymns and Collection.
3. The Working Classes are especially invited, as several Working Men will address the Meeting.
4. Private Carriages and Cabs will wait in Exeter-street.
5. Omnibuses (kindly provided) will wait in the Strand to convey home, free of charge, all showing Tickets, along the following routes:—Bayswater, W.; Paddington, N.W.; Camden-town, N.W.; Highbury, N.; Kingsland, N.E.; Hackney, N.E.; Whitechapel, E.; Kennington, S.; Lambeth, S.; and Brompton, S.W. They will leave at a Quarter to ten o'clock in the order named.
6. Free Tickets of Admission, available for Omnibuses, may be had at the Office of the Society, 7, Adam-street, Adelphi, W.C.; the Nonconformist Office, 18, Bouverie-street, E.C.; the Religious Tract Society, 56, Paternoster-row; the Methodist Book Room, 66, Paternoster-row; Messrs. Snow, Paternoster-row; Messrs. Bagster and Sons, Paternoster-row; Messrs. Jackson, Walford, and Hodder, Paternoster-row; Messrs. S. W. Partridge and Co., Paternoster-row; Mr. G. Stevenson, Paternoster-row; the Methodist New Connexion Book Room, Paternoster-row; Young Men's Christian Association, 165, Aldersgate-street, and Marlborough-street; the Sunday-school Union, 56, Old Bailey, E.C.; and Messrs. J. Nisbet and Co., 21, Berners street; also at numerous Churches and Chapels on Sunday, the 29th of April.

ROBERT G. CATHER, LL.D., General Secretary.

7, Adam-street, Adelphi, W.C.,

London, April 11, 1866.

The ANNUAL SERMON will (D.V.) be preached in WEIGH-HOUSE CHAPEL by the Rev. ANDREW THOMSON, D.D., of Edinburgh, on TUESDAY EVENING, 1st May, at Seven o'clock. A Collection will be made.

P.S.—It is earnestly requested that Sermons on Systematic Beneficence (without collections) may be preached in as many churches and chapels as possible on Sunday, the 29th April; and Tickets for the Meeting, applied for by letter, at 7, Adam-street, W.C., by all ministers who are willing to have them given away to their congregations as they retire, will be promptly forwarded free by post.

RAGGED CHURCH and CHAPEL UNION,

No. 4, TRAFALGAR-SQUARE, CHARING-CROSS, W.C.

SPECIAL SERVICES FOR THE DESTITUTE.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the RAGGED CHURCH and CHAPEL UNION, for providing Free Places of Worship for the Poor, will be held at EXETER HALL, on WEDNESDAY EVENING, May 9th.

Chair to be taken at Half-past Six o'clock, by

ROBERT BAXTER, Esq.

The Meeting will be addressed by the Rev. Dr. Leask, Rev. T. Dunn, Rev. J. P. Waldo, Rev. T. W. Wilkinson, W. J. Maxwell, Esq., and Mr. G. M. Murphy, of Surrey Chapel.

Tickets of Admission may be obtained at the Offices of the Society, 4, Trafalgar-square, Charing-cross, W.C.

EVANGELICAL CONTINENTAL SOCIETY.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the Evangelical Continental Society will be held in the Lower Room, EXETER HALL, on THURSDAY EVENING, May 17, at half-past Six o'clock.

JOHN CHEETHAM, Esq., M.P., in the Chair.

BRITISH SOCIETY for the PROPAGATION of the GOSPEL AMONG the JEWS.

The ANNUAL MEETING will be held at HANOVER-SQUARE ROOMS, on TUESDAY EVENING, May 8th. The Chair will be taken by R. C. HANBURY, Esq., M.P., at Half-past Six.

Tickets may be had at the Office, 96, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury.

THE ANNUAL SOIREE of the EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE will (D.V.) be held on THURSDAY EVENING, May 3, at FREEMASONS' HALL. Members and others friendly to Christian Union are earnestly invited to attend.

ROBERT CULLING HANBURY, Esq., M.P., will preside.

Addresses will be given by the Rev. Marcus Rainford, M.A., the Rev. John Cumming, D.D., the Hon. J. W. Van Loon, from Amsterdam, and others.

Tea and Coffee at Six. Tickets, One Shilling each, to be had at this Office, or at the Hall. Public Meeting at Seven, for which tickets are not required.

JAMES DAVIS, } Secretaries,
H. SCHMETTAU, }

7, Adam-street, Strand, April, 1866.

The Right Hon. the Earl of SHAFTESBURY, K.G.; the Hon. A. KINNAIRD, M.P.; Colonel Sir HERBERT B. EDWARDES, K.C.B.; Rev. H. VENN, B.D.; and CHARLES RAIKES, Esq., will address the Meeting.

THE CHRISTIAN VERNACULAR EDUCATION SOCIETY for INDIA, which is to be held at half-past Two o'clock p.m. on MONDAY, May 7, 1866, in WILLIS'S ROOMS, ST. JAMES'S.

This Society trains Native Teachers, gives Christian Instruction to Heathen Children, and Publishes Educational Works in the Principal Languages of India.

J. H. TITCOMB, M.A., Hon. Sec.
F. W. LOCKHART GORDON, Sec.

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ALBERT-ROAD, UPPER HOLLOWAY.

PATRONS.

Their R. H. the PRINCE and PRINCESS of WALES.

The FIRST ANNUAL MEETING of GOVERNORS will be held at the LONDON COFFEE HOUSE, LUDGATE-HILL, on THURSDAY, May 24, to receive the Report of the Committee, the Auditors' Report, to appoint Officers, and for the ELECTION of TWELVE INFANTS.

The Chair will be taken at Twelve o'clock precisely, by

WARREN S. HALE, Esq., Alderman.

Contributions are very earnestly solicited, and will be thankfully received. Governors for Life, 10l. 10s.; annually, 1l. 1s. and upwards. Subscribers for Life, 5l. 5s.; annually, 10s. 6d. There are now Twenty-four Infants at the Orphanage, and Twenty-four will be admitted in 1866.

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MR. RIDLEY PRENTICE'S CONCERT,
HANOVER-SQUARE ROOMS, MONDAY EVENING,
May 7th.

Madame Paropa, Madame Sainton-Dolby. Messrs. Sims Reeves, Carrodus, Danbert, Walter Macfarren, and Ridley Prentice.
Mr. Sims Reeves will sing "The Message," and Mr. Ridley Prentice's new song, "Echoes" (with violin obbligato).
Tickets, 10s. 6d. and 5s., of Mr. Ridley Prentice, 76, St. George's-road, South Belgrave, and at the Rooms, &c.

TO DRAPERS.—WANTED, by a YOUNG LADY with Seven Years' Experience, a RE-ENGAGEMENT, to take the entire MANAGEMENT of the MILLINERY and MANTLE DEPARTMENTS in a good house. Address, giving particulars, "M. A. B." Post-office, Dover.

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HAM, for the EDUCATION of the SONS of
MINISTERS.

The following were the Successful Candidates for admission to the above School, at the Annual Meeting held on the 24th inst. at the Congregational Library:—

A. C. Fisher	4,023	D. W. Duthie	2,272
R. H. Gay	2,558	M. Williams	2,064
A. B. Davis	2,493	H. J. Morrison	1,911
F. T. Oakley	2,294	A. Lewis	1,730

JOSIAH VINEY, Hon. Sec.

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LEGE, MANCHESTER.
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One of these EXHIBITIONS (yearly value £31) will be OPEN for COMPETITION to Students entering the Theological Course in the Session commencing September, 1866.

RAFFLES AND HADFIELD SCHOLARSHIPS.

These Exhibitions (yearly value 30s. and 151s.) will be open for Competition to Students entering the General Course in the Session commencing September, 1866.

Information respecting the subjects of examination may be obtained from the Secretary, the Rev. A. Clarke, Stockport; or from the Professors at the College.

Applications for admission to the College should be sent in not later than August the 18th.

THE CASTLE HALL EDUCATIONAL
ESTABLISHMENT for LADIES, NORTHAMPTON.
Conducted by Miss PUTTICK.

English Grammar, Composition, &c.—Miss Puttick, assisted by her Sister and Resident Governesses.

English Reading—Rev. Alex. J. D. O'Ree, B.D. (Chancellor's English Medalist), English Lecturer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Lecturer in Public Reading at King's College, London.

Botany—M. Burvenich.
French—Mademoiselle Graf.
German—M. Burvenich.
Piano—Miss Puttick, assisted by her Sister and Resident Governesses.

Singing—Miss Puttick.
Guitar—Miss Puttick.

Drawing—Chalk, Pencil, Water-Colour, Perspective, and Object Drawing—Miss Puttick.

Dancing and Drilling—Mr. Alfred Dorrell.

Reference is kindly permitted to Sir David Brewster, K.H., F.R.S., D.C.L., Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the Edinburgh University, and to the Parents of Pupils, &c., &c.

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Blades secured to handles. Best quality only.					
38-in. balance white, per doz.	15s. 0d.	12s. 6d.	6s. 0d.		
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1857 to 1859	5,882	1,150,530	4,155	796,255	25,098 13 1
1860 to 1862	7,727	1,602,976	5,667	1,155,690	35,384 1 3
1863 to 1865	9,243	2,612,845	7,551	2,019,264	63,634 14 2

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Ditto 1863 194,152

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March 19, 1866. GEORGE MORRIS, Secretary.

THE Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT, AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. XXVI.—NEW SERIES, No. 1069.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MAY 2, 1866.

PRICE { UNSTAMPED .. 5d.
STAMPED..... 6d.

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Eccelesiastical Affairs.

PLEASANT RETROSPECT FOR THE COUNCIL.

THE success of Mr. E. Bouverie on Wednesday last in regard to both the debate and the division on his motion for going into committee on the Fellows of Colleges Declaration Bill, although it might seem less decisive than that obtained by Mr. Coleridge for the Tests Abolition (Oxford) Bill, was, in reality, quite as honourable a victory. A majority of twenty-two votes in a House of less than four hundred members, and on a question which has never stirred, and is never likely to stir, popular interest—a majority, moreover, recorded in support of a measure which promises to be more fruitful of good to Nonconformists than that which relates to the University only, and upon which the sense of the House of Commons was expressed after the fullest opportunity for considering all the bearings of the question, is, in no sense, to be treated as a disappointment. It has carried the Bill through its most critical stage in the House of Commons, and will probably ensure its being sent up to the Lords well endorsed, even if it do not compel their acquiescence. It is certainly worthy of taking its place in the unbroken series of triumphs which, up to the present period, the newly-elected Parliament has yielded to the adherents of Religious Equality.

The Council of the Liberation Society, which will be in Session before the present number of this journal can be published, will have a pleasant annual retrospect submitted to them by the Executive Committee. The proceedings of the Society since the memorable Conference of last year have issued in results which can hardly be regarded otherwise than as highly encouraging. True, the Committee had never at any time either entertained or expressed misgivings as to the progress of their enterprise. They had had, however, to report a succession of Parliamentary defeats, an apparent loss of moral and political influence, a seeming retrogression, although but a temporary one, of the cause they had in hand. They were obliged, when last they met their constituents, to content themselves with the language of resolution and hope. They then looked forward to the dissolution of a House of Commons which, when thoroughly tested, had turned out to be behind the public opinion of the day on politico-ecclesiastical questions. They were able to report, though with considerable reserve, and, of course, with some diffidence as to what might be the result, their own efforts, both in progress and in prospect, for securing a fuller representation of the principle of Religious Equality at the approaching General Election. But so far as facts could be disclosed to the public, they were unable to do more than show the fallacy of the unfavourable inferences that had been eagerly drawn from them by the Society's political and clerical adversaries. The encouragement the Committee felt compelled to address to their friends was mainly of a negative character. It was felt to be something to be able with truth to

maintain that, spite of outward appearances, the movement had not been driven back, and it was still more reassuring to be able to point forward to the proximate future with an unaffected show of cheerful confidence.

The story will be a somewhat different one to-day. The general election is not now immediately in front of the committee, but behind them. Its results have been secured and ascertained. The House of Commons which it returned has been variously tested, and hitherto, in every instance, with gratifying effects. We adverted last week to two kindred measures—the Parliamentary Oaths Bill and the Qualification for Offices Bill—which have not merely won their way through the Lower, but have obtained the concurrence of the Upper House. The committee, besides being in a position to congratulate their friends on these successes, will record a majority once more in favour of the abolition of Church-rates, and a fair prospect of seeing an amicable settlement of that much-contested question. They will advert to the large majority in favour of the second reading of the Oxford University Bill, and to the safe passage of the Fellows of Colleges Declaration Bill through Committee. They may, perhaps, draw some encouragement from the tone of the debate on the Irish Church. In a word, they have nothing adverse to report. They have been assailed in every conceivable way, and from every possible quarter. They have endured the taunts of the Lords, the maledictions of the episcopal bench, the passionate repudiation of the Commons, but not the distrust of the public. The electors gave no sanction to the prejudgment of the legislature, but quietly reversed many of its ecclesiastical verdicts. And, so far as can be inferred from the tone of the new Parliament, it is not likely to carry out the objects of intolerance, or, to any great extent, to commit itself to the protection of clerical exclusiveness.

Our own impression is, not that there has been any sudden or extensive change of opinion on the general merits of religious equality, but that the devices successfully resorted to with a view of concealing what public opinion really was have recently broken down, and, for all practical purposes, the effect is the same as it would have been had such a change actually occurred. Members of even Liberal political professions have been lukewarm in the service of the principle just referred to, or even adverse to its further development, under the impression that they were moving in harmony with the will of the public in this matter. They have had their eyes opened to that mistake. They see now clearly enough the set of the current, and they find it is not towards monopoly in relation to spiritual, any more than to commercial, privileges and advantages. Indeed, this is probably to be regarded as the most hopeful characteristic of the passing times. There is a positive indisposition to gratify intolerant feelings, and to feed the craving for ascendancy of the Established clergy. Men of Mr. Walpole's stamp, whose personal amiability of character and courteousness of bearing obtain for them high influence in Parliament, but whose ecclesiastical views are extremely narrow, and who seem to consider themselves specially appointed by Providence to slam doors in the faces of Dissenters, are, on all politico-ecclesiastical questions losing the hold which they once had upon the House of Commons. Admissions are being daily made even by the staunchest friends of the Church of England, which must strike dismay into the mind of Mr. Newdegate, and which, in fact, he shows his perfect inability to comprehend. We have only to look upon the hon. member for North Warwickshire as a fixture where all is moving, a post in the middle of the stream, or a rock confronting the incoming tide, to measure the progress of the last few years. What he was, and whereabouts, a dozen years ago, the Legislature was—we may almost add, public opinion was. There was then nothing singular in the sentiments to which he was wont to give utterance—at least, it was not thought so at the time. He has not changed—but numbers of minds with which he was once in harmony have—and we see the extent of those

changes by the small minorities in which he is now usually left.

Let no one mistake our meaning! We have no idea that the Liberation Society is near the goal for which it started, nor that it has seen its worst vicissitudes. The tide which flows so merrily just now will doubtless ebb again in due season. Still it is pleasant to enjoy an alternation of success, more especially as every advance, however small, when legislatively secured, is an advance that cannot be reversed. Our principles are making progress, even as the dawn spreads, and peak after peak reflects their illumination. "Be sober, be vigilant, and hope unto the end," is the admonition addressed to us by the present outburst of sunshine. The Council of the Liberation Society, we are sure, will accept it and act upon it with devoutest gratitude.

THE DEBATE ON THE COLLEGE FELLOWSHIPS BILL.

(BY A SPECTATOR.)

LAST Wednesday was a day of quiet discussion in the midst of a week of fierce political excitement. The House of Commons was sober, if not apathetic. The back Opposition benches, though not empty, no longer resounded with cries of passion; the attendance was good, but not overflowing; there was no struggle for seats in the galleries, though they were pretty well filled; the leaders on both sides were absent—Mr. Disraeli, with the vision of office before him, having quite abandoned his ecclesiastical crusade; and instead of the Speaker, who could safely take a day's repose, Mr. Dodson occupied the chair, and had an easy time of it.

Mr. Bouverie had a very plain statement to make, and dealt with his subject in a terse, business-like, and exhaustive speech, in which he cautiously avoided dangerous ground, and made no pretence to eloquent appeals. The right hon. gentleman, though member for a Scottish constituency, was educated at Cambridge University, which is chiefly affected by his Bill, and his position as an Ecclesiastical Commissioner was a guarantee that he would do nothing to injure the Church of England. His Bill, which was always rejected by the last Parliament, was read a second time on the 28th of February without a division, Mr. Walpole giving notice that he would oppose it at the next stage. In moving on Wednesday that the Fellows of Colleges Declaration Bill go into Committee, Mr. Bouverie pointed out that its simple aim was to remove a statutory restriction imposed on those corporations by the Act of Uniformity. He showed that, until Mr. Coleridge's Bill passed, the measure would not apply to Oxford, that the great majority of Fellows in that University had never subscribed the test, and might therefore, by a strict interpretation of the law, be ejected from their fellowships; that five-sixths of the Act of Uniformity having been repealed, it had become such a mass of confusion, that there were legal doubts if this particular section was operative. But he had no desire to get rid of the test in an indirect way, and therefore openly asked Parliament to repeal the declaration of conformity as applied to College Fellows, forcibly contending that it was no security for the religious belief of those who took it, and no security that the governing bodies of colleges should be exclusively members of the Church of England, though even if his Bill should pass, the majority of Fellows in the greater number of colleges would be clergymen. It was no mere "hypothetical grievance" he proposed to redress. No less than six gentlemen, all of whom had petitioned the House, had really been excluded since the passing of the University Act from fellowships, which, according to all human probability, from their place in the triposes, they would have attained, because they scrupled to take this declaration. Was it necessary,

as he concisely put the case, that a man should subscribe to the Prayer-book in order to teach the differential calculus, or that he should swallow a theological test before he could teach comparative anatomy? These people, men of great and often brilliant attainments, were driven away from Cambridge because the just prizes of their ambition were denied them. These tests also did not, as experience had proved, exclude men of sceptical opinions or irregular and immoral life, but merely a few conscientious men who had honest scruples about taking them. And Mr. Bouverie showed how injurious they were held to be at Cambridge University by the fact that seventy-four Fellows, some of them distinguished ornaments of the Church, had petitioned for their repeal. He also anticipated Mr. Walpole's stock argument by stating his own experience of the religious education afforded at the Universities. The fear of destroying distinctive religious teaching is such a good weapon to use against all concession to liberality that it is important to know what is the real state of things:—

No direct religious instruction (said Mr. Bouverie) is conveyed at Cambridge, and very little more at Oxford. Undergraduates are required to show a certain knowledge of the Thirty-nine Articles, but there is no daily instruction in religious dogma. The tutors at Cambridge lecture on Aristotle and Newton's *Principia*, and various other branches of learning, in which undergraduates will have to pass before taking their degrees. I was myself pretty diligent while at Trinity College, Cambridge; but I don't recollect any religious instruction whatever being given to the undergraduates. We had lectures on algebra, on the differential and integral calculus, and other branches of high learning; but there was no instruction in religious doctrine. We were required to go to chapel; those of us who were regular in our habits did, and on Sundays we went to St. Mary's Church and heard a sermon, which was sometimes a good, and sometimes a bad one. (A laugh.) That was pretty nearly the amount of religious instruction received at Cambridge. I don't mean to say that there would be no advantage whatever in the authorities of a college belonging to a distinct religious body, and that the parents of young men should have no security that the doctrines taught in the chapel sermon, and the general tendency of instruction, should be in conformity with the views generally entertained in the Church of England; but what I say is, that this test is no security whatever—it does not advance you one step further towards the attainment of that object.

Mr. Walpole, in moving the rejection of the bill, spoke with his usual suavity and narrow bigotry. He urged pretty much the same pleas as were brought forward when the Oxford Bill was under consideration, denying that the Universities wanted the proposed reform, and declaring that the education of the Universities had always been conducted in connexion with the Church of England. What was complained of was not a test, but a means by which secure religious discipline was secured in connexion with the Church of England in the colleges and chapels of the University as well as in its lecture-rooms. The grievance was "infinitesimal." The Universities had still its distinguished men, though some few were driven away because the intentions of the founders of the Colleges could not be violated, and the right hon. gentleman intimated that it was for such that the University of London was set on foot and permission given to open private halls at Oxford and Cambridge. Therefore, unless it was contended that Dissenters had a right to the endowments of colleges which were not founded for them, but distinctly for other persons, there was not an atom of a case for the Bill. Mr. Walpole found from the loud cheers on the other side of the House that the Universities were regarded as national institutions open to all, and proceeded to argue that they were national only in the same sense as the Established Church—not in the sense that persons who would not conform to the conditions under which the colleges were founded were to have the right to share in the endowments or the government of them. This sophistry, which the Opposition cheered as so excellent, unfortunately proved too much. For if the colleges are private endowments, what justification, as Mr. Chambers subsequently showed, is there for a legislative enactment to restrict their free action? And the sole object of Mr. Bouverie's Bill is to remove that restriction!

The member for Cambridge University found a tough antagonist in one of its most distinguished Professors. Mr. Fawcett was thoroughly in his element in arguing the question, and greatly strengthened the favourable impression which his previous speeches in Parliament had created. In a condensed speech, not more than half as long as Mr. Walpole's, who with all his ability is apt to twaddle, he replied to all his points. The lofty claims of monopoly based on the intentions of founders was met by the fact that the colleges were started "when masses were chanted." There are Dissenting students in the colleges, but no religious discord had followed. They wanted to bind the colleges by no law, but if

the college thought—and the case had occurred—that the election to a fellowship of one of its students who had taken brilliant degrees, and who was of unimpeachable moral character, would be of infinite benefit to the college, they should be at liberty to elect him, notwithstanding the fact that he could not conscientiously conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England. The blind Professor was cordially cheered when he resumed his seat.

For all useful debating purposes the discussion might now have closed. But it was prolonged for another hour or two. Mr. Beresford Hope was fearful of Church colleges getting an infusion of Nonconformity, and jocosely in his dictum that the Bill was founded on the Liberal creed, "which was a desire to get something which belonged to somebody else." Mr. Julian Goldsmid, the member for Reading, who is a graduate of London University, thought the prestige of Oxford and Cambridge of great consequence, and showed that in his *alma mater* there was that good feeling between persons of different religious opinion which would follow if the elder Universities were expanded. Subsequently, Mr. Selwyn diluted the arguments of his colleague in the representation of Cambridge University, and Mr. Thomas Chambers made a very effective speech in favour of the Bill, showing that when the Act of Uniformity was most operative, religion was lowest in the country, and that it was when not a single Dissenter was at Oxford, and the governing body was supposed to consist only of conscientious and steadfast members of the Church of England, that a schism greater than any which had been known in that Church for one hundred years had arisen. He agreed with Mr. Bouverie in his estimate of the value of religious education at Cambridge, and expressed his belief that the bringing of persons belonging to different religious persuasions into contact with one another at the Universities would not promote indifference, but rather tend to create an interest in religious questions. Those who opposed the Bill, he contended, were standing on ground which was becoming narrower every day, because they did so on the assumption that the Established Church and the nation were one and the same thing.

After a few languid and perfunctory remarks from Sir William Heathcote in his quality as one of the members for Oxford University—his colleague, Mr. Hardy, mercifully remaining silent—the House called for a division, and Mr. Bouverie replied in a neat speech, in which he laid stress upon his desire to relieve Roman Catholics affected by the Act of Uniformity, but thought it would be more effectually done by the contemplated general Bill relative to the oath of abjuration.

As the bells about the House began to tinkle, committee rooms, the library, and smoking-room sent forth their occupants, who soon formed a compact mass at the bar. Mr. Coleridge, who had listened to the debate, hastily left the House, met the incoming current, and was seen no more. When the question was first put the Deputy-Speaker declared "the 'Ayes' had it. On the second challenge the 'Noes' were declared to 'have it' by impartial Mr. Dodson. It made no difference; for in a few minutes the House was rapidly emptying in two streams sufficiently equal in volume to make the result doubtful, and the two Ecclesiastical Commissioners were left alone on the floor—Mr. Bouverie looking brisk, and Mr. Walpole somewhat depressed. The silence was so profound that the voice of the former was soon heard in the lobby "telling" off the voters. When the members had returned, an irregular outburst followed the handing of the paper to Mr. Bouverie, and a good hearty Liberal cheer when he read out the numbers and disclosed a majority unexpectedly large. In a trice the Bill passed through committee—it is but one clause—and stands for third reading a few weeks hence. Most of the Adullamites were for that occasion reunited to their party, but the long list of pairs—forty—shows how eagerly many members were availing themselves of relaxation before the final Reform struggle. The success of Wednesday was decided, but may be improved at the next stage of the Bill.

ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

MANY years since, soon after the Congregational Union of England and Wales was formed, the following words appeared in a leading article in this journal:—"We see in the Congregational Union the embryo of Presbyterianism, which, whether it be a Scriptural form of ecclesiastical Government or not, is anything but the result at which Independent churches are aiming. The power of organisation

will increase together with the disposition to employ it, the vigilance which now checks its abuse will relax, and with objects so loosely defined as are those of the Union, all the laws of human action serve to convince us that should it continue and thrive, it will hereafter exercise government *ad libitum*."

It is doing but bare justice to the Congregationalists of England and Wales to say, that, excepting in one instance, which we need not now specify, they have not given, since the time of their formation into an united body, a formal occasion for these words to be revived. Whether any, and if any, what silent or secret persecution may have been endured at the hands of local unions or associations, we do not know. If, as we still believe, the tendency of such associations is, and must be, to become courts of inquiry and excommunication, that tendency has hitherto been honourably and successfully resisted. Independence and union have been maintained together, and the former has not been sacrificed to the latter. Rights have not been surrendered for "advantages." Dictation has not taken the place of counsel. There has not only, as far as we know, been no "lording" over weak or apparently mistaken brethren, but no apparent desire to "lord." A vice inherent in human nature has been conquered or kept at bay by high Christian principle. A low and degrading passion has been trodden under foot by a stronger and purer passion. The lust for power has been conquered by the love of truth. If vulgar men—and vulgar men there always will be in the best of churches—have shown a disposition for supremacy, have assumed dictatorial manners, or attempted to seize the reins of power, they have been made, by the quietest exhibition of an independent spirit, to step back into their proper places, abashed and degraded, if not ashamed. The fears of most of those who looked upon the formation of a Congregational Union with a jealousy which both history and the observation of human nature, amply justified, have been proved to be, for the most part, if not altogether, groundless. Whisperings and secret condemnations by cliques and coteries there may have been, but with the exception to which we have referred, there has been nothing more than whisperings. The Congregational Unions and Associations have, for the most part, justified their existence, and have maintained an honourable fame. Perhaps all the good they have effected might have been done without formal bonds, declared creeds and trusts that are uniform only in name; but this is an open question, and we gladly recognise the fact that they have, in their public proceedings, added lustre to the character and the reputation of Congregational Dissent.

We are now at liberty to comment freely on a glaring exception to this honourable history—an exception, however, which does not in any way implicate the Congregational Union of England and Wales, nor any of its members. But Scotland has similar associations, and in Scotland just such an attempted violation of Christian freedom has taken place as that which was once foreboded. If we are compelled to make the narrative of this case somewhat longer than is consistent with the space usually allotted to this portion of our journal, we shall, we hope, for its intrinsic importance, be forgiven. It shows us how ecclesiastical tyranny originally grew. It contains the egg of all Romanism and all State-Churchism. It is a Court of High Commission in embryo, only, and fortunately, the embryo has been crushed in the womb.

On the 19th of March, then, in the present year, the Rev. Dr. Alexander, Congregational minister of Edinburgh, addressed a letter to the Rev. James Cranbrook, another Congregational minister of Edinburgh, on behalf of those Congregational ministers who were present at Mr. Cranbrook's recognition as pastor of the Albany-street Church, to ask him to meet them in friendly conference. The object they had in view, Dr. Alexander goes on to say, is to "ascertain [your views on some points of revealed truth, on which they have been led to believe that you hold views very different from those hitherto held and taught in our churches." Mr. Cranbrook's liberty of thought and speech was not questioned, but the ministers desired to know whether they could continue to recognise Mr. Cranbrook as a brother minister. We need not wonder at the reply to this note. A few days after receiving it, Mr. Cranbrook wrote to say that he thought it better to let his indignation cool down before answering it, and having now no feeling but sorrow, he wrote as follows:—

I cannot appear before your newly-constituted Consistorial Court, and endure the inquisition you would subject me to.

I refuse to be catechised on the tenets of that most

tyrannical of all impositions, an unwritten creed, the true character of which is not disguised by calling it "views hitherto held and taught in our churches."

I refuse to be tried by judges who have anticipated their verdict by allowing themselves to be "led to believe that I hold views very different from those hitherto held, &c."

I refuse, in vindication of the liberty freely to teach what I have learned of God—which, although you concede in words, you, by acts like this, do your best to deprive me of; and also for the sake of all others who may come under your suspicions of heresy, that they may find it more easy to refuse. Better a thousand times had we been members of one of our Established Churches, with the articles of our creed distinctly defined, and the process of their courts rigidly regulated by precedent and laws, than be subjected to such a self-constituted Court as you propose, with no rule for its procedure but its own extemporising will.

It is true you call it a friendly conference to which you summon me. But you and I, Dr. Alexander, are too well read in Church history not to know what is meant by divines, under such circumstances, by such terms.

The reply to this was sent in a few days. The ministers state that they acted in perfect good faith, that they really thought Mr. Cranbrook might be able to give satisfactory explanations to them, and that they did not intend to erect an ecclesiastical tribunal. "All," they add, "we wished was a candid statement from you of your views on essential Christian doctrines, that we might compare these with our own, for the purpose of seeing whether we could continue to stand before the public recognising you as a minister of the same faith and order with ourselves." As Mr. Cranbrook had not met them, they had no alternative but to intimate to him that they suspended all ministerial communion with him. It will be noticed that this step is taken before assuring themselves of Mr. Cranbrook's doctrines. The document is signed by the Revs. G. D. Cullen, W. Lowe, W. Lindsay Alexander, A. T. Gowan, Ninian Wight, and W. J. Cox. Mr. Cranbrook returned the following reply:—

My Dear Sir.—The postman safely delivered last night the letter of excommunication you and your ministerial brethren addressed to me on the 27th of March.

Yours very truly,
JAMES CRANBROOK.

Having done this, Mr. Cranbrook called a meeting of his church, which was held on Thursday evening last, and the proceedings of which were reported at full length in the *Caledonian Mercury* of Friday. Before this meeting he read the whole correspondence, said he had not the least idea of the nature of the accusations against him, pointed to his printed publications, and informed them that he intended to adhere to his rights as a Congregational minister. The church manfully defended the principles of Independency, warmly applauded Mr. Cranbrook's letters and speeches, and passed, unanimously, resolutions of their approval of his conduct.

This is how the case at present stands, and as we have only quoted from authentic documents, and all the documents, there can be no doubt about how it stands. Mr. Cranbrook we know by reputation only, and we know nothing against him. No one will question his independent spirit, and, whatever may be the value of the names opposed to him, no one we trust, amongst us, will withhold from him their respect and admiration for the boldness and tenacity with which he has maintained the Christian rights of himself and his Church. What his theological opinions may be we do not know, but if he were to explain them we have little doubt that they would be found to be held by many members of the southern Union. His Church is certainly not a "heterodox" Church. Nor are the Congregationalists of Dundee, who have enthusiastically rallied round him, who have been taught in times past by a David Russell and an Alexander Hannay, likely to be amongst the "suspects" of the ecclesiastical world. But were his opinions very diverse from those ordinarily received, Mr. Cranbrook's course must have been what it now is. He could not have submitted to what he rightly describes as an "inquisition." He could not, from sheer loyalty to Congregationalism, have permitted his brother ministers to outrage the first principles of Christian freedom. He could not suffer six or sixty-six brethren to put to him any "inquiries." What are they that he is not? He could not suffer avowed Independents to become practical Presbyterians. We hope the six ministers will see their error, and retrace their steps. They have done wrong not only to Mr. Cranbrook, but to the reputation of the whole denomination of which he and they are members. And if, amongst us, any should be thinking of inviting a brother to explain his "views," and of excommunicating him if he should not satisfy them, let the rebuff which the six ministers have received be a warning in time.

CONGREGATIONAL UNIONS.

LANCASHIRE.—The fifty-ninth annual meeting of this Union was held in Preston on Wednesday and Thursday week. On the morning of the first day the conference was devoted to the transaction of the general business of the Union. In the evening a public meeting was held in Cannon-street Chapel. The Rev. H. J. Martyn, the pastor, occupied the chair. The Rev. J. Gwyther, the secretary, read the annual report, which says:—

For some years past the returns from the churches have constituted a melancholy record of difficulty, privation, and poverty, mingled with expressions of praise to God for spiritual progress realised in the midst of material distress. The American war was not only the occasion of distress to households, but of depression to all voluntary institutions. More particularly was this the case in the Christian churches, the members of which are mostly of the industrial class. This being the character of many of the stations dependent upon the aid of your Union, they keenly felt the effects of paralysed industry. With the restoration of peace prosperity has again visited them. During the past year new chapels have been finished and opened at Hollinwood, Longridge, Ancoats, Manchester, Stanley, Smallbridge, and Whitefield, and in three of these cases, where such progress might have been least expected—namely, Longridge, Stanley, and Smallbridge—the whole cost has been met, or prospectively provided for. Chapels are in course of erection at Edgeworth, Tottington, Royton, and Waterloo. Debts have been cleared off at Barrowford, Chorley, and Droylsden. At Knowl Green a building has been purchased from the Roman Catholics which, by the judicious expenditure of a few hundred pounds, can be converted into a comfortable and adequate place of worship.

Several other stations having been referred to, the report states that there are in connection with the Union fifty-four stations and thirty-seven out-stations; that accommodation is provided for 19,998 persons in places of public worship; that in fifty-two Sunday-schools there were 1,084 teachers and 9,161 scholars; that the sum contributed during the year for the reduction of debts had been 4,022l. 2s. 7d.; that the grants made to stations amounted to 1,670l. 12s. 8d.; that at the stations themselves, exclusive of the grants, and of 90l. contributed by Lady Hewley's trustees, the sum of 8,680l. 13s. 3d. had been raised by the people. The Revs. J. Chater, G. Nicholson, T. Davies, and E. Mellor, addressed the meeting. On Thursday evening, another meeting, under the auspices of the Congregational Union, was held in Grimshaw-street Chapel, to promote the Lancashire Chapel-building Society. Abraham Howarth, Esq., of Manchester, occupied the chair. The report stated that the grants made towards the erection of the thirty memorial chapels amounted to 20,000l. Of this sum, 17,500l. had been contributed. Several gentlemen had increased their subscriptions, but a considerable sum was yet wanting, to meet which it is intended to appeal to each church in Lancashire to give a collection during the coming year. Mr. Gwyther then read the treasurer's statement of accounts, which showed that the receipts had been 6,114l. 18s. 2d.; that the expenditure had been 5,213l.; and that there was in the hands of the bankers, in favour of the Union, a sum of 884l. 14s. 1d. The Rev. T. Davies, Henry Lee, Esq. (of Manchester), the Rev. J. H. Gwyther, and other gentlemen, addressed the meeting.

BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—The annual meeting of this society was held on Thursday at Brunswick Chapel, Bristol. In the morning there was a conference, over which the Rev. Joseph Morris, the pastor of the chapel, presided. About seventy ministers and delegates were present, and a very interesting discussion upon the position and prospects of the denomination in the county took place, the meeting lasting for several hours. Grants amounting to about 850l. were made to different country churches. After the conference the ministers and delegates dined together. In the evening there was a public meeting at Brunswick Chapel, on behalf of home missions in the county. There was a tolerably good attendance. The chair was taken by the Rev. R. Thompson. The Rev. E. J. Hartland (secretary) read a portion of a report presented at the meeting of pastors and delegates in the morning, presenting the work done by the Union during the past year in reference to home missions. The report stated that the Union had rendered pecuniary aid during the whole or part of the year to seventeen churches, exclusive of those existing in the mission stations. Four mission stations had been under the care of evangelists, by whom the Gospel had been preached in eleven villages, besides hamlets. The congregations thus superintended contained 4,931 hearers. Since the last reports were furnished 105 persons had been received into church fellowship. The number at present in fellowship was 1,013. The Sunday-schools contained 2,049 scholars, and the day-schools 652. For the support of the ministry the sum of 957l. 2s. 5d. had been received, which the Union had supplemented to the extent of 632l. For their own incidental expenses, schools, and benevolent objects generally those churches had further raised the sum of 505l. 11s. 3d. Five evangelists had been labouring under the direction of the committee during the whole or greater part of the year just closing. The reports of all presented encouraging features, while all alike spoke of difficulties and discouragements. Mr. White, the treasurer, stated that the Union commenced the past year with 595l. 6s. in hand, and they had received in cash during the year 662l. 13s. 6d.—total, 1,257l. 19s. 6d. The sum of 800l. 17s. 9d. had been expended, leaving a balance in the banker's hands of 457l. 1s. 9d. Addresses were then delivered by the Revs. S. Hebditch, R.

Stephens, and Dr. Morton Brown, of Cheltenham, the latter of whom pointed out that after all the efforts of the Church of England for hundreds of years past, the people were not Christianised. He hesitated not to say that he did not libel the Church of England when he said that the people of England were not at that moment half Christianised. Was it right then, he asked, was it manly, for a clergyman to turn his back upon a fellow-Christian because he went out and laboured hard to save souls?

THE QUALIFICATION FOR OFFICES ABOLITION BILL, so frequently brought under the notice of the House of Commons by Mr. Hadfield, will shortly become the law of the land, having been read in the House of Lords a second time on Tuesday last, the Earl of Derby assenting. The invidious distinction which has hitherto been made between Englishmen of equal loyalty and professing the same Christianity, but differing in their preference for this or that Church, as often as Dissenters have been elected in municipal offices, is about to be abolished. It is due to Mr. Hadfield to acknowledge at this time the considerable part he has had in the success of this reform. It was by his patience and steady perseverance that the injustice to be remedied and the measure necessary for its redress were kept year after year before the House of Commons, until at length that assembly had seven times recorded divisions in favour of this bill. Nor ought those who will more immediately profit by this reform to forget the support it has received in the House of Lords from peers who could have little in common with them but a generous love of liberty, and a sincere desire to emancipate them from degrading conditions of civil life. Especially are thanks due to Lord Houghton, who has repeatedly recommended the bill to the House of Lords alike by his elevated character and his conciliating eloquence. The success of this measure should encourage reformers of every class to steady perseverance in their work. The point gained in this instance is a small one, indeed, apart from the principle of religious equality which it involves; but as a recognition of that principle it is of immense importance, and the fact that the gain has been won by the quiet but persistent assertion of well-grounded claims should convince us that where deliberation is free there is nothing that can in the end stand against reason and justice.—*Daily News*.

Religious Intelligence.

KENSINGTON.—The Rev. J. Alden Davies, of Brent, South Devon, has accepted an invitation to become assistant to the Rev. John Stoughton, of Kensington.

PADDINGTON CHAPEL.—The annual congregational meeting was held on the evening of Wednesday, 25th April. After tea in the schoolroom, a numerous meeting assembled in the chapel; the pastor, the Rev. G. Douglas Macgregor, presided, and delivered an address, congratulating the congregation on the measure of success which the Lord has graciously granted them during the year, and called upon all to express their gratitude by still greater devotedness in the Saviour's service. Reports of the various institutions were read, all of the most encouraging character. There had been a marked increase in the number of the congregation, the seatholders, and the church-members. The amount of money raised for the various objects was 1,826l. 8s. 7d.

LONDON CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION.—The annual meeting of the Eastern District of this association was held on Monday, the 23rd April, in Coverdale Chapel, Commercial-road, Thomas Scrutton, Esq., presided. The Rev. James Bowrey, hon. secretary, read the report. There are five evangelists and a female agent employed. Their work is principally domiciliary visitation, open air preaching, holding mission-room services, band of hope and temperance meetings, and special visits to the sick and dying. The work of chapel building is advancing in the district, in all cases the responsibility and direction being undertaken by indistinct committees; the committee of the association being able to do no more than render moral support. Encouraged by the offer of Mr. Morley, and the London Building Society, there are erected or in course of erection six new chapels, three to supply the place of small and inadequate buildings, and three to form new interests, additional centres of evangelical instruction and influence for the remaining population of East London; they are situated as follows:—Sydney-street, Bethnal Green, open September last; Burdett-road, Bow-common, to be opened in the latter part of May; Bromley Chapel, building commenced; North Bow and Mile-end-road Chapels, to be commenced forthwith; Stratford Chapel in course of erection. The Rev. W. Bevan, J. H. Wilson, E. Price, John Kennedy, E. Scadhorst, two of the agents, and Mr. Lonsdale, took part in the proceedings of the evening.

JUNCTION-ROAD, UPPER HOLLOWAY.—The annual meeting of the congregation of the temporary Congregational church, Junction-road, was held on Friday last. The Rev. Samuel Manning presided, and addressed the meeting in an impressive speech. He was followed by the Rev. Mark Wilks, of the Holloway Congregational Church, and the Rev. J. E. Tanner, late of Lymington. The report of the committee of management, read by the secretary,

Mr. Charles Miall, stated that the attempt to establish a new centre of religious influence in Upper Holloway had been so far encouraging; the services in their inconvenient place of worship being well attended, and most of the seats taken by permanent worshippers. It was also mentioned that Mr. Poulton, the well-known architect, was preparing plans for the new church in the Junction-road, which promised to be a handsome structure. It will be adapted for the present accommodation of 700 persons (to which galleries for 300 more could subsequently be added, at a moderate expense), and will provide most ample school accommodation, lecture and class-rooms, on the basement floor. The foundation-stone of the new building will probably be laid this summer. Reference was also made to the Sunday-school carried on at the present temporary chapel, to the formation of a Dorcas and Benevolent Society, and to the cordial feeling subsisting between the members of the congregation. F. Ehrenzeller, Esq., the treasurer, read the financial report, which showed that all the current expenses had been met during the past year, and that more than 1,300*l.* had been subscribed to the building fund. This amount includes the proceeds of collections made at Hornsey Chapel (Rev. J. Corbin), Union Chapel, Islington (Rev. H. Allon), divided equally between the new causes in the Junction-road and Seven Sisters-road, and collections and subscriptions made by the neighbouring congregation under the Rev. Mark Wilks. The handsome sum of 130*l.* has been subscribed in the aggregate by the friends at Holloway Congregational Church in aid of the movement for increasing the religious accommodation of the upper portion of the district, and other neighbouring congregations have promised help in the same way. The plan of stronger churches helping their weaker neighbours, thus pleasantly carried out, is well worthy of more frequent adoption. After the adoption of suitable resolutions, the appointment of a new committee for the year, and some remarks from Mr. Backhouse, Mr. H. M. Burt, and Mr. Tidmarsh, a vote of thanks to the chairman concluded the proceedings.

ST. AUSTELL.—Mr. W. Marden Beeby, of Springhill College, Birmingham, has received and accepted a hearty and unanimous invitation to become the pastor of the Congregational Church, St. Austell, Cornwall.

CHRIST CHURCH, ASTON PARK, BIRMINGHAM.—On Sunday, April 22, the first anniversary sermons were preached by the pastor of the church, the Rev. Isaac Lord. On Tuesday, April 24, the event was celebrated by a public tea-meeting, at which about 600 persons were present. The Rev. Isaac Lord presided. Addresses were delivered by the Rev. J. P. Barnett, and by Messrs. A. J. Allbutt, J. A. Cooper, J. C. Woodhill, and J. S. Wright. It was stated that the entire cost of the church and school-rooms had been 6,000*l.*, and that, in addition to subscriptions previous to the opening, the newly-formed church and congregation had recently raised more than 700*l.* towards the building fund. Sunday-schools have been established, which are attended by upwards of 300 children. A library has been formed, and the auxiliary institutions usually identified with Christian churches are in active operation. During the evening additional subscriptions towards the building fund were promised, which, together with the collection on Sunday, and the proceeds of the tea-meeting, amounted to 220*l.* A selection of music from the "Messiah" and "St. Paul" was efficiently given.

THE REV. JOHN ALEXANDER.—This venerable and beloved minister preached his farewell sermon to his congregation at Princes'-street Chapel, Norwich, on Sunday last. For forty-nine years he has preached the Gospel in this city. To his great honour it can be said that in his time he has made many thousands of friends, but, so far as we have ever heard, not a single enemy. The kindness of his heart, evinced in his very voice and gesture, conciliated the regard of all who came within his reach, and gave an unusually persuasive influence to his words both in public and private. And this good influence was confirmed and increased incommensurably by his consistent and unblemished life. We hope that so long as his remaining strength will enable him to enjoy life, this good man may be spared to his family and friends. Love begets love, and we are glad to know that the retiring pastor has had all his wants anticipated and every comfort secured to him. His first discourse was preached on the 4th of April, 1817; his farewell sermon was preached on the 22nd of April, 1866.—*Norfolk News.*

SHEPTON-MALLETT.—On Thursday, the 12th of April, meetings were held in this town to recognise the Rev. Thos. Drew, pastor of the Independent Church. An excellent dinner was provided, after which there was a public meeting under the presidency of W. Somerville, Esq., of Bristol. The chairman, who had long known Mr. Drew, gave a gratifying testimony to his worth as a man and a minister. The Rev. J. Grosvenor then gave an address on "Nonconformity: its past, present, and future"; the Rev. J. Moss, on "The Christian Pastor: its relation to the spiritual, intellectual, civil, and social well-being of the people"; the Rev. R. C. Howell, on "The Christian Pastor: its relationships and responsibilities to Christ and the Church"; and the Rev. F. J. Perry, on "Nonconformity as an illustration of unity without uniformity." The Rev. E. H. Jones, county secretary, and the Rev. E. Vigis (Wesleyan), also gave short, pointed addresses. In the evening a meeting was held in the chapel, when the Rev. T. Drew gave his reasons for accepting the

pastorate. The Rev. E. H. Jones gave the recognition address, and the Rev. J. C. Harrison, of London, preached an excellent sermon. The Revs. J. Moss, J. Drover, F. J. Perry, W. Clarke, Esq., and Mr. Forster, also took part in the proceedings. The chair was taken by J. P. Spencer, Esq., of Oakhill. The meetings were well attended, and Mr. Drew commences his ministry with every prospect of success.

"JACK KETCH'S WARREN."—On Tuesday, the fourth annual meeting of the Cow-cross Mission was held at the Mission House, 55, Turnmill-street, Clerkenwell. Tea was supplied free to 150 of the poorest people of the district. Afterwards a public meeting was held, presided over by Capt. the Hon. C. E. Hobart. Addresses were also delivered by the Rev. C. B. Sawday, and Messrs. R. Craig, G. M. Murphy, J. Stable, G. Kirkham, Z. B. Woffendale, and M. J. Catlin, the City missionary of the district. Lady Beauchamp, of Langley Park, Norwich, sent up a good supply of bread, and also a bunch of flowers for each person. The annual sermon was preached in the Mission Hall on Sunday evening by the Rev. J. H. Wilson, Secretary of the Home Missionary Society. This is the district recently described by Mr. James Greenwood in the "Starlight Readings" of the *Evening Star*. Bad as it is, there has been a great improvement since this mission work was commenced. The contrast between the rudeness manifested four years ago and the order on Tuesday night must be very gratifying to those who have the management of the work.

MANNINGTREE CONGREGATIONAL CHAPEL.—The recognition of the Rev. T. S. King, formerly of Brandeston, to the pastorate of this chapel took place on Wednesday, when there was a full congregation. A hymn having been sung, a portion of Scripture read, and a prayer offered up by the Rev. J. Thomas, of London, the introductory discourse was delivered by the Rev. T. W. Davids, of Colchester, who explained the principles held by Nonconformists, and their reasons for dissenting from some of the doctrines and formularies of the Established Church. The usual questions were asked by the Rev. T. B. Sainsbury, of Finchfield, and answered by Mr. Norton, one of the deacons, and Mr. King explained how he had been led to choose and exercise the sacred office. After which the ordination prayer was offered by Mr. Sainsbury. The Rev. E. Jones, of Ipswich, afterwards delivered an eloquent charge to the pastor and his flock, from 2 Corinthians vi. 4. In the afternoon a tea-meeting, attended by 150 persons, was held in the Corn Exchange, and in the evening another service was held, when a most impressive and appropriate sermon was preached by the Rev. John Raven, of Ipswich, from 1 Thessalonians v. 12, 13.

HOWARD CHAPEL, BEDFORD.—Early in the present year the church and congregation worshipping in this chapel removed to the Bedford Rooms until their chapel should be restored and beautified, and on Tuesday, April 29th, celebrated their return to their old house of prayer by reopening services, when the Rev. T. Binney preached in the morning, and the Rev. E. Paxton Hood at night, to large audiences. The improvement is marvellous, and those who knew the chapel as it appeared but a short time before, its really beautiful proportions spoiled by the steep incommensurable gallery, and its high-backed pews erected and worn out by a past generation, were astonished to find that the whole had changed like some dissolving view into the light, graceful, and commodious interior which it now presents. It reflects very great credit upon Mr. John Usher, of Bedford, the architect, that in restoring a building that presented no very marked features of style, he should have succeeded in producing so harmonious an effect. The old high-backed pews have been replaced by open benches, with beautifully moulded stall-ends, an oaken platform substituted for the old hexagonal pulpit; the gallery front has been lowered and the panels filled with open iron-work; the flat portion of the ceiling, which is deeply coved from the walls, is divided with panels and octagons and squares; the organ has been moved into the gallery behind the pulpit; the old bad lights have been replaced by windows of moulded zinc and richly-tinted Stenna cathedral glass, and the whole chapel refitted with Perkin's hot-water apparatus. The whole cost of this is estimated at 880*l.*, towards which about 600*l.* had been already received; of the 250*l.* left, 70*l.* was collected at the services of Tuesday, and doubtless the contributions of next Sunday (when the Rev. J. T. Brown, of College-street, Northampton, will preside) will still further diminish the balance. There are but two memorials of John Howard in the country,—the statue in St. Paul's Cathedral and this chapel, which he mainly built, and in which he was wont to worship. The people have but lately built schools to commemorate the thirtieth year of their pastor's service amongst them, and have been enabled to carry out this restoration to so great an extent, very much by the way in which their own strenuous efforts have been supplemented by the generous aid of friends of all denominations of Christians.

CAERMARTHEN ENGLISH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.—The anniversary services of this church were held at the beginning of the past week. On Sunday the Rev. R. Vaughan, D.D., preached two masterly sermons, abounding in passages of the highest order of eloquence, and excellently adapted to the present condition of religious thought and belief, or rather tendency to unbelief. Both sermons related to the

person, life, and work of Jesus Christ, the text being taken, in the morning from that grand Messianic prophecy of Isaiah contained in the fifty-third chapter—"He shall see of the travail of his soul and shall be satisfied"; and in the evening from the close of the Gospel of "the beloved disciple" (John xx. 31)—"These are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name." On Monday Dr. Vaughan delivered a lecture in the Caermarthen Assembly Room, entitled, "A Comparative View of Ancient and Modern Civilisation," and the subject was treated as only a man of his learning and eloquence could treat it. The chair was occupied by R. Brodie, Esq., Mayor. On Tuesday a very able sermon was preached by the Rev. T. Burditt, M.A., late tutor of Haverfordwest Baptist College. The audiences were very large, and at the close of the services the Rev. E. Z. Little, the pastor of the church, announced that the proceeds amounted to more than 90*l.*, which, with 50*l.* collected since the last anniversary, will reduce the debt on the church by about 140*l.*

Correspondence.

MR. SKEATS' HISTORY OF THE FREE CHURCHES.

To the Editor of the *Nonconformist*.

SIR,—My publisher informs me that he has had many inquiries for a work which I was urged a few months ago to write under the above title; and at his suggestion, I now write to explain why it has not been forthcoming.

But is it necessary to give an explanation at all? I don't think it is. The fact is, that it is not written. I have worked and am working at it as faithfully as I can, but unfortunately flesh and blood impose limits on the time which a man can devote to study. I knew I was undertaking a work of some magnitude. So far as reading goes, I had done great part of it before I mentioned the matter to any one, and I knew something of the course which I should have to take. But I have found that I cannot write what I should consider an honest history without giving myself more time than I originally intended to give to the work. I can only say now that I am writing it, and that I hope that the first part will be ready for press in a week or two.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

HERBERT S. SKEATS.

Norwood, May 1, 1866.

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

To the Editor of the *Nonconformist*.

DEAR SIR,—Allow me to call the special attention of your readers to the announcement in your advertising columns of the annual sermon to the youthful supporters of the London Missionary Society:—"The Rev. George Wilkinson, of Chelmsford, will preach at the Weigh-house Chapel on Monday evening, May 7th, service to begin at seven o'clock"; and as Mr. Wilkinson purposes to address himself exclusively to the young, I would respectfully and urgently ask ministers, superintendents, and parents kindly to make the announcement known in the proper quarters.

Believe me, yours truly,

ROBERT ROBINSON, Home Secretary.

Blomfield-street, Finsbury, London, E.C.,
April 30, 1866.

CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS AND TOTAL ABSTINENCE.

To the Editor of the *Nonconformist*.

SIR,—Will you kindly allow me space in your columns to state the final result of the inquiries recently made as to the number of Congregational ministers who are abstainers from the use of alcoholic beverages? Of the 2,177 ministers to whom the circular was addressed, an affirmative answer has been received from 497, besides which there are 34 others who are known to be abstainers, but from whom no reply has been received, making a total of 531, or about one-fourth of the entire number of ministers belonging to the denomination. Many of these have been abstainers more than twenty years—several about thirty years—and the testimony borne as to the great advantages derived therefrom, both personally and in connection with their ministerial labours, is most important and emphatic.

I am, yours faithfully,

W. J. BARLOW.

Holford-square, Pentonville, April 30, 1866.

ENROLMENT OF DEEDS.

To the Editor of the *Nonconformist*.

DEAR SIR,—I venture to suggest, *pro bono publico*, that a reminder be given in your columns that Mr. George Hadfield's Act for extending the time for the enrolment of deeds conveying lands for charitable uses fixes the 16th of May, 1866, as the last day for enrolment. All deeds referred to in his Act (including chapel deeds), not enrolled by that time will be declared invalid, and the property may, in consequence, be lost to the charities concerned.

Yours, truly,

T. BEIGHTON, Sec.

London Congregational Chapel-building
Society, 7, Blomfield-street, Finsbury,
London, 30th April, 1866.

RATING OF SUNDAY-SCHOOLS, &c.

To the Editor of the *Nonconformist*.

DEAR SIR,—Can you find room to allow me to call the attention of your readers, and especially those of them in London this week to the fact (I fear not extensively known) that owing to late trials in the House of Lords and Court of Queen's Bench it is decided to be the law that Sunday-schools and various charit-

able institutions hitherto not charged, are liable to be rated to the poor, and that in this district and elsewhere they have already been assessed and charged with the rate, which will, of course, be followed by the other rates as in cases of ordinary property. A deputation will probably wait upon Ministers on Friday, and if the friends of Sunday-schools would join in large numbers and also assist in further proceedings which may be necessary to obtain an alteration of the law, something may be done to avert or remove this great injustice and discouragement.

I remain, respectfully, yours,

WM. WARBURTON.

Salford, April 30, 1866.

THE VACCINATION QUESTION.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—In the *Nonconformist* of April 11th, there appeared, under the head "Compulsory Vaccination," a letter signed "C. N. G." This epistle appears not to have received the attention of which the writer deemed it worthy, and he accordingly, in your number for the 25th, proposes to petition the legislature in order to prevent the wrong to private judgment which he fears may be perpetrated under cover of the law.

I presume, Sir, that the letter in question was written either in good or bad faith; the writer either knew or did not know what he was writing about. If the latter be the case, I submit that he ought not to have written at all; if the former, I can only express compassion for the ignorance which can have allowed him to indite the letter.

Taking for granted, however, that your correspondent really means what he says, will you allow me space for a few words in reply? First of all, the quotation which he gives from Sir A. Carlisle (not Carlyle) has no reference whatever to vaccination. Were it otherwise, it is only necessary to remark that the work in question was written nearly thirty years ago, when the author was seventy years of age, and when vaccination had not, as it now has, stood the test of experience for three-quarters of a century. At that time many of the older members of the medical profession entertained objections to vaccination which have yielded to time and observation. At the present day I challenge "C. N. G." to produce even a score of medical men who question the efficacy and value of vaccination.

"C. N. G." goes on to argue that because we don't know all about organic chemistry, we should refrain from making use of such facts in medicine as we do know. His fermentative illustration is utterly beside the mark, as well as founded in error. Because alcoholic fermentation does not prevent acetous fermentation from taking place in a saccharine fluid, he would argue that vaccination cannot prevent small-pox. But pathology indicates the essential identity of the two diseases; so that, even if the illustration might be accepted, it should be replied, that spirituous fermentation does prevent, henceforth and for ever, a similar fermentation from again occurring in the same fluid.

Further, I reply that in spite of "C. N. G.'s" argument, vaccination does prevent small-pox. Does he ask for proof? I answer that during the eighteenth century the small-pox death-rate of London ranged from 3,000 to 5,000. During the ten years 1846 to 1855, with a population immensely multiplied, it was under 340.

Finally, I must remind your correspondent that the object of "interested men," by whom I suppose he means medical men, would surely be to ignore, rather than to advocate, vaccination, to allow small-pox to pursue its course undisturbed, and to traffic in the misery of their fellows. Upon the whole, Sir, I believe it will be wise for members of the community to resign themselves to the care of the medical profession in matters concerning their physical well-being. If medical men do not, as the result of their life-study and experience, know all that is necessary for the successful conservation of life and health, they are at any rate seekers after truth, and probably attain nearer to it than mere bystanders or sciolists.

If, however, "C. N. G." or any other of your readers, feels any honest doubt as to the value and safety of vaccination, let me advise him to procure a Blue-Book, issued by the General Board of Health in 1857, intitled, "Papers relating to the History and Practice of Vaccination," which deals with the whole subject in a manner perfectly exhaustive.

I am, Sir, yours obediently.

JOHN W. KEYWORTH.

Birmingham, April 28, 1866.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—In the House of Lords on the 24th inst., the Earl of Ellenborough inquired respecting the facts relating to one hundred and seventy-five cases of small-pox on board her Majesty's ship Octavia. The Duke of Somerset, in reply, stated, "That it had been ordered that no one should enter the navy without being vaccinated, and he was happy to find that most of the cases referred to had been of a very mild character."

In the *Times* of the 27th inst. appears the following:—"On the 26th March, at Bombay, of small-pox, John Leslie Gilby, First Lieutenant of H.M.S. Octavia."

We often hear it said that the disease assumes a mild form after vaccination. But an inquiry is now being raised; and it would be interesting if the Faculty would give an answer, "If a mild attack of small-pox carries off the patient, what will a severe one do?"

I remain, yours truly,

RICHARD B. GIBBS,

Hon. Secretary to the Anti-Compulsory Vaccination League.

1, South-place, Finsbury, April 28, 1866.

"We understand," says the *Pall Mall Gazette*, "that Mr. Russell Gurney, Q.C., and Mr. Maule, have brought with them the report of the Jamaica Commission, which was unanimously agreed upon between themselves and Sir H. Storks, and will be laid before Parliament with all possible dispatch. The Blue-Book will be one of the largest ever seen, being swelled out by a mass of official papers, as well as by the voluminous notes of evidence. It would be premature to speculate on the tenour of the report, but it can hardly be doubted that Governor Eyre will be recalled by the next mail."

The Anniversaries.

HOME AND IRISH MISSIONS.

A very interesting meeting was held in Bloomsbury Chapel on Tuesday evening in connection with the British and Irish Baptist Home Mission. There was a large attendance, including many of the ministers who have been present at the different gatherings of the week. The chair was taken by Sir Morton Peto, and on the platform were the Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel, Revs. C. H. Spurgeon, Evan Edwards, W. Walters, Dr. Price, C. Clark, C. Kirtland (secretary), and G. B. Woolley, Esq. (treasurer). The meeting was opened with singing and prayer, after which

Mr. KIRTLAND read the report. It appeared that twelve months ago the Baptist and Irish Missions, after maintaining a separate existence for more than half a century, entered on a course of united action. During the year which has passed since the union was formed, there has not been time for more than six months of earnest and systematic work; but, notwithstanding this disadvantage, the committees have had ample ground for encouragement. The union has taken a firm hold on the denomination. There is a widespread conviction that it was the right thing to do, and, if the numerous expressions of approval which have been elicited may be accepted as a pledge of hearty co-operation, the Mission has before it a future of great usefulness. The financial results of the year were stated to be satisfactory, the gross receipts being 4,057l. 7s. 2d., and the total expenditure being 3,283l. 1s. 7d. The report wished it to be distinctly understood that the Baptist Mission was neither a ministers' aid society, nor an institution for keeping in existence decaying churches. It was missionary in aim, and, by the Divine blessing, would be the same in action.

The CHAIRMAN congratulated the meeting upon the union which had been formed, as he thought that the two societies could be well worked under the same management. He was delighted the other day to hear of the large amount which the Congregationalists had subscribed at one meeting for home missionary work, and he trusted the Baptists would not be slow in following such an example. He referred to the assistance granted by Lady Hewley's Charity, and said that the trustees had determined never to give to any church for more than three years, and the same plan might be adopted with reference to aid given to mission stations; grants should not be given so as virtually to become endowments. There was a large field for the operation of the mission in Ireland; the Protestant Church had been a failure there, but from what he had seen of Irish emigrants in America, he had the conviction that when removed from the influence of the priests, the Irish character was one that would richly reward the labours of the evangelist.

The Rev. W. WALTERS, of Newcastle, moved the adoption of the report. He said that although marriages late in life were not always the happiest things in the world, he anticipated great good from the union of the Baptist Home and Irish Missions. He thought that the union would be every way beneficial, and that the influence of it would be general and widespread. In regard to home missionary work, two kinds of labour seemed needed. An itinerant ministry was required, indeed in many parts of the country there was an imperative necessity for it. In Northumberland there were villages where there was scarcely any preaching at all, and evangelists, who would do nothing more than preach the Gospel, were deeply needed in such a neighbourhood. They were wanted, not with a view to found churches, but simply to preach the Gospel to utterly benighted minds. If this work were done in villages, its moral effect would be felt in all large towns.

The Rev. Dr. PRICE, of Aberdare, should like to say a word or two about the work of the mission in Wales. A vast field was now opening up in the Principality. Railways were becoming general, and English people were quite invading the country. Englishmen had invaded Wales on two or three former occasions in the history of the country; but now they were bringing money with them. He trusted that the English in Wales would not be forgotten by English people, or that, at least, Welsh people might be helped to give them instruction. He referred to many places now peopled by English inhabitants, where there was little or no provision made for their spiritual instruction.

The Rev. EVAN EDWARDS, in a polished and thoughtful address, seconded the resolution moved by Mr. Walters, and it was carried unanimously.

The Rev. O. H. SPURGEON addressed the assembly upon the subject, "Home Evangelisation the Work of the Churches." It was a subject on which he had long thought. The extension of the Gospel was the work of the churches. All societies were but makeshifts until the Church really did what had been committed unto it to do. But until the end came societies very probably had their place. Let them continue until they could be done without, until they were no longer wanted. A day would come when denominations would cease to be. The chief end of a Church, according to many, was not to glorify God, but that people might enjoy themselves for ever; and so they asked concerning a minister, "How did you enjoy him? or, How have you fed this morning?" The Church had settled down into the idea that celestial fruit was to be found by sitting down in pews. If the Church would not attend to mission work it was well there were societies to attend to it, but first principles seemed to teach that the churches, as churches, or combined as societies, should do the work.

The Hon. and Rev. BAPTIST NOEL commended the suggestion which Mr. Spurgeon had thrown out as to the employment of evangelists, and expressed a hope that some young men would come forward during the coming summer and spend a few weeks in the country in preaching in the various villages throughout the land. After that the results of their labour might be collected, and visits paid to the people to encourage them.

Mr. MACROBY, missionary at Derrynell, gave an account of the revival in Ireland in 1859, which he said had given a great interest to the cause of religion and to the Baptist denomination in that country.

THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The Foreign Missionary Society of the Baptist denomination held its annual meeting in Exeter Hall on Thursday. The attendance was better than usual; the hall was well filled. Mr. W. E. Baxter, M.P., presided. After the devotional engagements,

The Rev. FREDERICK TRESTRAIL, the secretary, read an abstract of the report. It began with the finances. The treasurer began the year with a balance in hand of only 8l. 11s. 5d., which seemed to threaten a deficit at the end of the twelvemonth of at least 2,000l. To prevent this the most earnest efforts were made. The total receipts for the year amounted to 27,716l. 12s. 6d., and the expenditure to 30,133l. 12s. 6d., leaving a balance against the society of 2,408l. 8s. 7d. But, happily, this balance was more apparent than real. 3,000l. having been placed in the Bank of Bengal for the use of the mission press, so that the money was in Calcutta instead of the hands of the treasurer. It was further stated that the income derived from various sources had, in almost every instance, increased. The falling-off for the past two years had been mainly in legacies. It was a mistake to suppose that the contributions had declined through a falling-off of interest in the mission. Facts proved this. In the year 1850 the receipts from annual contributions amounted to 12,612l., and for the following ten years they only once, in 1854, exceeded 13,000l. In 1860 they were 13,836l. From that time down to the present day they had gone on increasing at the rate of nearly 1,000l., except during the period of the prevailing distress in Lancashire. The financial position of the society was, therefore, encouraging, and no solid ground for apprehension existed in regard to the future. As to the expenditure, no new fields have been entered, nor has there been any increase in the number of European missionaries. Death has thinned the ranks, but only one candidate had been accepted for mission service. The present staff can scarcely be sustained by the present income. All over India, and in most of the colonies, the cost of living has of late vastly increased. The missions carried on under the society's auspices are found in India, China, Ceylon, the West Coast of Africa, the West Indies, Brittany, and Norway. The number of missionaries and assistant missionaries employed is 62, of native converts as pastors and preachers, 213. The number of stations and sub-stations is 289, in which are erected 162 chapels and 51 school-houses. The number of members in full communion is 6,334, and the candidates for fellowship are returned at 559. The number of persons connected with the various stations as nominal Christians is estimated at 17,177; the day-schools are 72 in number, with 109 teachers and 2,734 scholars. There are 70 Sunday-schools, 337 teachers, and 2,708 scholars. These figures do not include Jamaica, nor do they take account of the multitudes that, as in India, hear the preaching of the Gospel. Apart from these, it was estimated that there are from 23,000 to 25,000 persons who have been rescued from idolatry and ungodliness, and provided with the means of grace, by 384 brethren, European and native. In Jamaica there were from 50,000 to 60,000 persons looking to the missionaries of this society for spiritual instruction. The portion of the report relating to Jamaica was heard with special interest. It stated that the appeal made to the churches of England for 7,000l. to alleviate the distress amongst the people had resulted in contributions of 2,250l.; and going on to speak of the "savage deeds" of the Governor and his subordinates in the putting down of the insurrection, the accusation that the disturbances were to be attributed to the teaching of the missionaries was warmly repelled, amidst the loud applause of the audience. A summary of the facts of the rising, and of the measures taken by the committee, was given, and special reference made to the cruel arrest and rigorous imprisonment of the Rev. E. Palmer, of Kingston. Should the Commission fail to vindicate the missionaries from the unjust aspersions cast upon them by Mr. Eyre, it might become necessary to bring the matter before the Government, and perhaps before Parliament itself. The committee have very anxiously deliberated on the course to be taken for the future welfare of the mission in Jamaica. It was to be expected that these events would have a very prejudicial effect on the churches themselves, and they are not surprised to learn that the returns of the year show a diminution in the membership of some 2,000 persons, and only 300 additions to the churches by baptism. It is more than probable that for a few years, until the industry and social order of the community are restored to a normal condition, the missionaries will need both sympathy and support from this country. The committee have therefore ventured to resolve that they will attempt to raise the present fund to a sum of not less than 3,000l., and by grants in aid, spread over the next three years, endeavour to secure the mission from further injury. They are strongly urged

to extend the mission by establishing a station in the district of Morant Bay. By many influential persons in Jamaica the presence of Baptist missionaries is regarded as a guarantee for peace and good order in those portions of the island where they labour. Our own brethren earnestly urge this step on the committee. Under such circumstances the committee have resolved to assist their missionaries to enter on this field, and to establish a station in this spot. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN, in a lengthened speech, defended the cause of missions against what he termed the fashionable incredulity of the day. Formerly missions were ridiculed not only by frivolous men, but by philosophers, politicians, and some leading statesmen. The jeering was now in a lower tone, for, with all their dislike and mistrust—and there was much dislike as well as mistrust—still they could not shut their eyes to the importance of what really had been doing when they had seen one after another of the islands of the Pacific throwing away their idols to be baptized in the name of the Lord; the churches they had formed, and which were flourishing far away on the west coast of Africa, and that which had defied the power of warriors, merchants, and statesmen, namely, the awakening of the mind of their fellow-subjects in India, had been slowly, but surely and certainly, effected by the more humble missionary efforts. (Applause.) Their adversaries had now changed their ground, and their charge now was not that the missionaries had effected nothing, but that they were a set of pestilent fanatics who had effected a great deal too much. Mr. Baxter supported his views by reference to the proceedings before last year's select committee on the state of West Africa. As will be remembered, Captain Burton gave evidence on one side, and Dr. Livingstone, aided by Mr. Baxter, on the other, the latter of whom, with great force and logical power, shook the baseless fabric of the anti-missionary party's arguments. The fashionable incredulity was now applied to the negro. It could hardly be denied that there was a good deal of opinion amongst us favourable to slavery, or ready to wink at it, as there were large numbers ready to accept a slave empire in America. With regard to the affairs of Jamaica, he might mention that the report of the Royal Commissioners would be in the hands of the country in the course of a few days. As a member of the Imperial Parliament, he would not prejudge that report; but this he would say, that if the civil and military authorities of Jamaica who had been accused were found guilty, although he wanted no more executions, for enough blood had been shed already, the people of England would expect that her Majesty's Government would do its duty. (Cheers.) The chairman concluded by saying:—

What a consolation, ladies and gentlemen, it is to know that there is a God above us who makes the wrath of man to praise Him! We, as a nation, have shamefully neglected the social and religious interests of our great empire of Hindostan, and God, in mutiny and massacre, recalled us to a sense of duty. Our friends in the United States had permitted themselves to palliate the evils of negro slavery—had allowed that evil institution to rot as a cancer or a gangrene into the very vitals of the community, and their punishment came in battles and bloodshed the most dreadful that history records. May it not be very much the same in the case of Jamaica? We for a long series of years had permitted that island to be governed, or, rather, as your report has stated, to be misgoverned, by a set of men so incompetent that they have actually, for the first time—I believe it is the first instance of the kind on record—they have actually committed political suicide. Everything was going to rack and ruin under their management, and how could we expect the descendants of the overseers who governed by means of the lash to dispense equal justice? But God's hand is moved in a mysterious way, and as the blood of the martyrs has been so often the seed of the Church, may it not be the case that the blood shed at Morant Bay will prove the seed of Jamaica's future prosperity. (Loud and continued applause.)

The Rev. R. ROBINSON, one of the new secretaries of the London Missionary Society, moved the first resolution:—

That this meeting rejoice in the success which has attended the operations of the various missionary societies in those countries where their agencies have been established, and most earnestly desire their increased success in extending the kingdom of Christ throughout the world. Most especially would it offer thanksgiving to God for the blessing He has vouchsafed to the Baptist Mission; and, while sincerely lamenting the removal of beloved brethren from the field, would urge on the consideration of all its supporters the pressing need of importunate prayer, that men eminently qualified for the work may be led to consecrate themselves to it, relying on the promised gift of the Holy Ghost to sustain and bless them as the messengers of the glad tidings of salvation to guilty and perishing men.

The speaker, as an illustration of the effects of Christianity, referred to the state of Savage Island, one of the islands in the Pacific. Mr. Laws, the missionary there, had lately sent word that these people, once noted for their peculiar barbarism, had become greatly changed. Some native teachers had been left on the island, and, as the result of their labours, all the idols were utterly abolished, and now in Savage Island there were 1,700 members of the Christian Church; and last year Mr. Laws admitted nearly 300, and there were 400 candidates waiting to be received. They had sent in that letter no less than 324. for the Missionary Society, 124. of it being for the missionary ship, and the rest for general purposes; and, in addition to that, the people had raised 100. for the purchase of books.

The Rev. Mr. GANGE, of Landport, seconded the resolution, and it was supported by the Rev. R. ROBINSON, of Dacca, in India; who detailed at length the nature of missionary work in India, and the difficulties to be overcome. In the course of his speech he said:—

The work, as it was conducted in the cities and

towns of Eastern Bengal, was very different from what it was in the villages. The people in the citizen towns had for the most part a trade to work at, or a profession, and were difficult to operate upon. In going about the villages they might sometimes meet with people who would undertake to defend their idol-gods, though it was a rare occurrence, but in the citizen towns this never occurred, for the people had all given up faith in their gods as gods; and the only consideration that kept them true to the idolatries of their fathers was the apprehension that the Brahmins somehow or other had a power which they could wield to their detriment. They did not care to hear the Gospel, because they were too absorbed in money-getting to be mindful of their eternal interests, or else were too much occupied in lawsuits, of which they were so fond. One of the most interesting features in connection with the propagation of Christian truth in Bengal was the power which Christianity already had, and the increasing influence which it exercised upon the educated classes of the people as well as upon that of the rising generation, who were receiving their education in the Government schools and colleges, and the missionary institutions that were scattered all over the land. Some of these people cared for no religion whatever, and regarded faith as simply an expression of the superstitious feeling of the human mind, and compromised with the Hinduism of their fathers, simply because it took no cognizance of the immoralities which they loved. Some of them had broken through the bonds of caste, and to a certain extent had been excommunicated from all orthodox Hindu society. But there were many others who did not feel themselves equal to this martyrdom, and could not yet forsake all, for that which nevertheless they regarded as the truth; arguing that if they did so they lose all opportunity of influencing for good the society in which they moved. He need not tell them what were the religious sentiments of many of the people to whom he had referred. Having given up the ancient and only inspired books of the Hindus, they took refuge in native religion, and having abandoned that, they tried to find shelter on the rock of intuitional consciousness. They had established societies in many of the villages connected with a central association in Calcutta, from which they derived not only much of their literature, but a great many of their institutions. They knew, to a great extent, what Christianity was, but many of them had no love for the moral purity which it enjoined, though there were those among them respecting whom they had great hope,—men who seemed to be struggling out of darkness into the light—a light which they hoped, by God's grace, they would ultimately reach. There was a young man in the city where he lived who came into contact with Christian truth about a year ago. He attended the chapel, and having learned something about Jesus Christ, obtained a copy of the Holy Scriptures, and studied it attentively. That young man told him (the speaker) that though he was called a Brahmin, and had been one, he now professed to be a Christian. Since then he had been to his native village, and each time had gathered together the young men of the place and taught them the lessons of Christianity. He applied for a lot of Bibles for the use of this class, and told him afterwards that there were two or three young men of his acquaintance, who, he felt sure, had learned to love Jesus Christ, and believe in Him as their Saviour. Not long ago he received a letter from him, in which he detailed the character of the work he was carrying on, and how on a recent visit he had had half-a-dozen of his friends at his house, and had explained to them the Scriptures, and how he had had a conversation with a pundit who lived in the village. He also referred to the general state of Hindu society, and stated that a certain person of his acquaintance had given up caste, and had been cooking a fowl for his dinner, although a fowl was interdicted among the Hindus. The old orthodox Hindus were very much opposed to the new Brahmin movement, and finding that it was spreading among the people, had made a covenant that they would excommunicate from caste, and from all its amenities, any man who refused to accept of their test of orthodoxy, and bring offering to the idol-gods, just as they would any man who was found attending the preaching of the Gospel. It might be asked why this young man was not a professed Christian? He answered, he was not a professed Christian in the sense of having been baptized; but for all that, in the society in which he moved, and amongst all his friends and relatives, he was known universally as a Christian, and so long as he did not openly profess Christianity by baptism, they were not called upon by the rules and institutions of Hindu society officially to excommunicate him, though they would be constrained to do it the moment that he was baptized; and thus he was still enabled to influence them to the extent of his ability, and to bear his living testimony among them of the power of the truth as it was in Jesus. This was also the case with others. He knew many of the Brahmins, and could say of them that they were not far from the kingdom of heaven, at any rate, a great deal nearer than the orthodox Hindus and the Mahomedans.

The Rev. J. P. CHOWN, of Bradford, in an eloquent speech, moved:—

That this meeting has heard with feelings of deep regret of the events which have occurred in Jamaica tending to retard the progress of prosperity and civilisation among the people of that island, and particularly do they deplore the fearful loss of life and property attending the recent riot at Morant Bay; but it rejoices to know that none of the members of the churches nor their pastors or deacons were in any way involved in that outbreak. And, further, it rejoices that the charges which have been brought against the officers and committee of this society, and the brethren in Jamaica, have been proved to be unfounded and unjust; and firmly hopes that the transference of its government to the Crown will promote the material prosperity of the island and progress of education among the people, and, by the blessing of God, the diffusion of the Gospel more widely among them.

The Rev. J. ALDIS, of Reading, in seconding the motion, referred at some length to the Jamaica question. Speaking of Morant Bay, he observed:—

I have been asked again and again how it happens that, seeing there are so many native Baptists in Morant Bay and the neighbourhood, and that they had from the first welcomed our missionaries and furnished a large number of converts, we have no stations in that particular region? It may not be known to many, but I have looked into the matter, and find that two and thirty years ago our now sainted brother, Burton, went to Morant Bay, preached the Word, gathered a congre-

gation, and started the whole enterprise under the most hopeful and promising circumstances. Subsequent to the outbreak in 1832, he was arrested and thrown into prison. A lady of whom he had hired premises was also arrested and punished, and a gentleman passing by the name of Rector Cook was one of the most active of those who insisted that our brother should there and then depart, leaving that particular field of labour destitute of the blessings of the Baptist missionary. We have waited four-and-thirty years; the sons of this gentleman and himself have recently appeared upon the stage; one was unhappily immolated; the gentleman himself was indebted for his life to the care and supervision of a poor black man; and now, under circumstances the most favourable and promising, the brethren of different societies inviting us, and promises of different kinds offering, and those in authority suggesting that we should undertake the work, we are about to enter in. Is not the lesson very manifest? Do God's work, and if man shuts the door God in his own time will open it for you.

Another lesson they had to learn in reference to the Jamaica crisis was the worth they should attach to their officers:—

There has been one name most unmistakeably and wonderfully prominent in connection with this business—the name of my honoured friend Dr. Underhill. (Loud cheering, and waving of hats and handkerchiefs.) I think in these days one of the best means by which you can ascertain a man's power is to ascertain the measure in which he is abused. Certainly we cannot contend that Dr. Underhill is the best abused man in Europe, but decidedly he has lately been the best abused man in England. Well, we thank God that our eyes have been opened, and that we have been led to see more fully and more distinctly how much God has conferred upon us in the person of our secretary. We did honour and esteem him; we did accord to him our confidence and our love, but we did not know that he had been working so gravely, so wisely, and so successfully; we did not know that he had manifested a heart so tender in its sympathy, and so tenacious in its purpose on behalf of our coloured brethren. We should not have known all this but for these circumstances, and now that we do know it, we thank God for him, and take courage in connection with our work, and seeing that we have such a man to lead us in the way, we do him honour to-day in this hall. (Renewed applause.)

The resolution was then carried unanimously, and a vote of thanks, moved by Sir MORTON Peto, passed to the chairman.

The doxology having been sung, and the benediction pronounced by the Rev. W. BARKER, the proceedings terminated.

THE UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE.

A public meeting of the members of this Alliance was held on the 24th inst. at Exeter Hall, in support of the Permissive Bill. The chair was taken by Mr. H. E. Gurney, and among the company present were Mr. Lawson (late member for Carlisle), the Rev. Dr. Burns, Mr. S. Pope, Mr. J. Nottidge, &c. The large hall was crowded in every part. In opening the proceedings of the meeting the chairman said that since they had last discussed the Permissive Bill it had greatly increased in public favour; public opinion was turning towards it, and before long it would be the law of the land. It was called a coercive measure, but all they asked was that the majority of the parish should have it in their power to say whether these sinks of iniquity should abound in their parish. The power of majorities was recognised in the matter of Church-rates, and why, therefore, should it not in regard to this much more important question? Dr. Burns then moved:—

That this meeting, considering the appalling evils which result from the sale and consumption of intoxicating liquors, not only to the immediate victims of intemperance, but to the community at large, feels strongly convinced that the true and just attitude of the State toward such a dangerous and demoralising traffic is that of total prohibition, either national and absolute, or local and permissive in its application.

He said he was prepared to vote for the immediate prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating drinks; and if anybody should say that it "would be an act of injustice to the brewers and distillers, his answer would be, "Do as you have been doing with regard to the cattle plague: abolish the traffic, tax the nation, and give restitution." Mr. W. Lawson, who was received with enthusiastic applause, seconded the resolution, and in the course of a long speech observed that if drunkenness were banished the land all men would agree on the subject of Reform which now agitated the country, because every one would be ready to grant the franchise to those who by their principle of sobriety would have proved themselves deserving of it. In short, the words of Mr. Cobden were perfectly unassailable:—"I consider (said he) the temperance cause to be the foundation of every social and political reform." If so, how was it that the Alliance had not the support of those who were considered to be the leaders in the religious and political world? With regard to the religious world he could not give any reason why they were not more largely supported by the religious body; but with regard to the political leaders the explanation was not so difficult, because politics—although it was not right—were very much made either a game or a trade; they were taken up by many public men as a way by which they might obtain place and power; but by taking part in the movements of the Alliance no hopes in that direction were likely to be realised. There was another reason. They were told that the House of Commons did not thoroughly represent the people; but he thought they tolerably represented that limited class by whom they were elected. Now, this being the case, the reason why members of Parliament were not warm supporters of the Permissive Bill became at once apparent, because that question found its chief support from the great mass

of the poorer classes of the country, and those, it was well known, were not at present represented in Parliament. He could not understand how a trade in a dangerous and destructive article could become less noxious from the circumstances of its being carried on by a very good man in a good house; their own common sense told them that if the trade itself was bad it ought to be entirely abolished. The object of the Alliance was by discussion to make as many converts to their policy as they could till at last an overwhelming public opinion should be created such as would compel the Legislature to grant to the people the power which the provisions of the Permissive Bill would confer upon them. Their chief opponents were those who were interested in the sale of intoxicating drinks, and who had formed a great confederacy against the wishes of the people. But they did not always have it their own way; last week one of the great champions of the drinking interest lost his seat for Nottingham. The Alliance had some right to feel a little satisfaction at that announcement. He had no hesitation in saying that he did rejoice at the unseating of Sir R. Olifson. Every man must feel indignant at the attempt of a combination of mere selfishness assuming to control and rule over the people of this great country, for that was what they were aiming at. It was true that he and Mr. Pope were defeated at the last election, but that did not argue the weakness of the cause of temperance, for there was a great difference between the constituency and the people of the country. In conclusion, he said it was their intention to raise 50,000*l.*, and contest the point for five years, and, if necessary, for another five years till their object was gained.—The Rev. Dr. Kessen supported the resolution, which was put and carried unanimously.—Mr. J. Notridge then moved:—

That this meeting earnestly calls upon the Government to bring forward at the earliest opportunity a measure to remove the anomalies of the liquor traffic, and to enable the community, on the principle of the Permissive Prohibitory Liquor Bill, to veto, when deemed necessary, the common sale of intoxicating liquors.

Mr. S. Pope seconded the resolution, which was supported by Dr. Edmunds and Dr. Lees, and unanimously agreed to. The meeting was subsequently addressed by the Rev. Dr. Gale, Mr. Raper, Mr. Dibley, and the Rev. Canon Jenkins, and a vote of thanks to the chairman closed the proceedings.—*Times.*

YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION IN AID OF THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—On Thursday evening the annual public meeting of the above association was held at Upton Chapel, Lambeth-road; Mr. W. H. Watson in the chair. The meeting was very numerously attended. The chairman said the regular income of the present year exceeded that of last year. Not saying anything about Jamaica, there had been 6,384 members of Christian churches who had been turned by their means from heathenism and idolatry. Mr. W. Tresidder read the report, which showed favourably that their Christian work was progressing in China, West Africa, and other places, and was improving the spiritual and social position of those in foreign lands through the preaching of the Gospel of our Saviour. The Revs. W. Walters, — Gamble, missionary from Trinidad, — Rosevear, of Abingdon, and other gentlemen, addressed the meeting.

THE BIBLE TRANSLATION SOCIETY.—The annual meeting of the Baptist Bible Translation Society was held at Kingsgate Chapel on Thursday evening. The body of the chapel was well filled with ministers and friends, and two or three of the speakers alluded to the attendance as being in advance of last year. The chair was taken by S. R. Pattison, Esq. The report stated the income of the society for the year to have been 1,863*l.*, and that there is 26*l.* in hand. The Rev. O. B. Lewis, of Calcutta, said that, knowing something of the importance of the object contemplated by the society, it was matter of surprise to him that the meeting was not larger. The interest felt in the society was not so great as it deserved. In India great progress had been made in publishing the Word of God. There had been two editions published, one large and another small, to suit the different buyers. There was a large edition of the New Testament in Bengali, and there were also editions of the Gospels, separately, which missionaries distributed amongst those to whom they preached. The New Testament in Hindustani was also complete. During the past year some progress had been made in the revised translation of the Old Testament in Sanscrit. In regard to the Bengali translation, it should be remembered that it was the first undertaken by the Translation Society, and that it was the first book of Bengali prose ever written. That translation continues to be the only one in the field. The Bible Society is not willing to put this translation into circulation. The Rev. R. Robinson justified the existence of the society on many grounds. The Rev. W. Sampson, of Serampore, mentioned that the Bishop of Calcutta had ordained that converts should be immersed, on account of the scruples which one man especially had felt in being sprinkled when he was taught that the word meant to immerse. The Rev. J. Gregson, of Agra, remarked that, after all, the society was valuable, not simply because it taught the truth concerning baptism, but taught men how to be saved. A collection was made in the course of the meeting, and the assembly broke up shortly after nine o'clock.

EARLY CLOSING ASSOCIATION.—The general annual meeting of this association was held on Friday evening at the London Coffee-house, Ludgate-hill; Mr. J. J. Knight (Messrs. Shoolbred and Co.) in the

chair. The report, a lengthy document, which was read by the secretary, gave a detailed account of the improvements which had been made in the early closing and Saturday half-holiday movement in the wholesale and retail trades both in London and in the provinces. It stated that efforts had been made last year to promote the Saturday half-holiday in the civil service, but they had not yet been consummated by the action of the Lords of the Treasury. There was, however, every reason to believe that steps which had been recently taken would at an early period cause the subject to be taken into practical and immediate consideration. The attention of the board had also been directed to the subject of providing additional means of recreation for those for whom it laboured. Petitions had been presented to Parliament with a view to opening the British Museum and other national collections for three hours in the week, from seven to ten o'clock. With a kindred object the attention of the association had been directed to the further utilisation of the parks. Application had been made, although without immediate success, to Mr. Cowper, Commissioner of Works, for an extension to Hyde Park of the privileges now enjoyed in the Regent's Park of playing cricket before nine a.m., and for permission to use the parks for the same purpose in the evenings and on Saturday afternoons. The association was also desirous of manifesting in a practical manner the interest which it felt in the preservation of the commons and open spaces around London, in which its constituents were pre-eminently concerned. The financial statement showed income for the year to the amount of 1,405*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*, and expenditure to the amount of 1,344*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.*, leaving a balance in hand of 60*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.* The chairman said that the report was a most satisfactory document, more especially with regard to the balance-sheet, which showed a balance in hand. The amount of good which the society had done was truly remarkable, inasmuch as many of the houses which were opposed to the movement had now given way. The association had every reason to congratulate itself upon the manner in which its operations had been carried on during the past year. Their object was only to restrict the unnecessary hours of labour, and he trusted that the association would keep its eye on the east end of London, in order, if possible, to effect an improvement in the position of the tradesmen's employees. On the motion of Mr. Burt, seconded by Mr. Flanders, the report was adopted, and the officers having been re-elected, the proceedings terminated.

NATIONAL TEMPERANCE LEAGUE.—A large number of sermons illustrative of the principles and objects of this society were preached in metropolitan churches and chapels on Sunday, and the annual meeting was held on Monday night in Exeter Hall, which was crowded. The president, Samuel Bowly, Esq., took the chair, and prayer was offered by the Rev. Canon Jenkins. The report, read by the secretary, Mr. Rae, commenced by referring to the most noteworthy event of the year, the conference held in the Mansion House in November last, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, which was attended by 68 clergymen of the Church of England, 136 ministers of other denominations, 75 physicians and surgeons, 62 aldermen, deputies, and other members of the Court of Common Council, with 157 others, embracing members of Parliament, magistrates, bankers, merchants, military and naval officers, &c. Conferences of a similar kind, followed by large public meetings, had been held at Salisbury, Brighton, Tunbridge Wells, Manchester, Liverpool, Hastings, Portsmouth, Gloucester, Stroud, and Birmingham, which had been attended by the clergy and other influential residents of those localities. A special conference, attended by 200 Wesleyan ministers, had been held at Birmingham, and another, attended by 210 Congregational ministers, at Bristol; and the result of an inquiry instituted by the League, showed that the ministers of religion in England and Wales connected with the temperance movement, numbered 2,748, distributed as follows:—

Church of England	600
Congregationalists	525
Baptists	260
Wesleyans	199
Welsh Calvinistic Methodists	339
Primitive Methodists	424
United Methodist Free Church	146
Bible Christians	145
Presbyterians, Methodist New Connexion, Wesleyan Reformers, &c.	110
	2,748

Three hundred and fifty members of the British Association for the Advancement of Science had met a deputation from the League at Birmingham, and lectures had been given at a number of colleges, high-class schools, and benevolent institutions, amongst the latter being the Asylum for Fatherless Children, Redham, the Orphan Working School, Haverstock-hill, and the British Orphan Asylum, Slough. Meetings had been held of young men and women in London warehouses and of working people at Lambeth and Limehouse, many of whom had taken the pledge; lectures had been given to soldiers and marines at Gosport, and to the boys, officers, and men of the training-ship at Portsmouth; and the missionary to sailors had held 252 meetings, paid 3,791 visits to vessels in the docks and river, and distributed a large quantity of temperance publications. The agents and lecturers had attended a large number of meetings in town and country, and amongst the larger demonstrations alluded to were the Crystal Palace Fête, attended by 32,472 persons, the Near Year's Tea Festival in Exeter Hall, and a meeting attended by 4,000 persons

in the Eisteddfod Pavilion, Aberystwith. The committee had made numerous grants of tracts to clergymen, missionaries, and others, both at home and abroad, and in many other ways had aided those wishing to co-operate in promoting the temperance movement. The cash amount showed an income of 3,886*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.*, and an expenditure of 3,884*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* The meeting was addressed by the Rev. Joseph Baylee, D.D., Henry Munroe, M.D., F.L.S., Rev. W. Hardie, B.A., the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, M.A., the Rev. James A. Johnstone, the Rev. Stanton Eardley, M.A., and the Rev. C. W. Denison, of Philadelphia.

Parliamentary Proceedings.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

The House sat on Thursday, Friday, and Monday, but the business on each day was unimportant.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FELLOWS OF COLLEGES DECLARATION BILL.

The House met at twelve o'clock on Wednesday. Petitions were presented by Mr. Bouverie, from the Baptist Union, representing more than 2,000 churches, and from the Surrey Congregational Union, in favour of the Fellows of Colleges Declaration Bill; and Mr. Walpole presented a petition against the bill under the corporate seal of Cambridge University.

Mr. BOUVIERIE, in moving the committal of the bill, explained that its object was to abolish the obligation which the Act of Uniformity imposed on all graduates of the Universities to declare their conformity with the Liturgy of the Church of England on taking Fellowships. This test had originally formed part of a series of legislative enactments intended to give the Church of England a monopoly of the religious education of the country, and while it had failed to effect this it had excluded from the just reward of their labour a number of able men who could not conscientiously conform to the Book of Common Prayer. It was, however, as he showed, not only useless, but unnecessary; for the real security for the Church of England character of the religious teaching at the Universities was contained in the 17th clause in the Act of Uniformity, which required that the College chapel services should be in conformity with the Prayer-book—that the Heads of Colleges should declare their assent to the Liturgy, and if in orders should read the service once in three months. Besides that, the majority of Fellows both at Oxford and Cambridge were required to take orders. He denied that the Universities were places of special religious teaching, and showed the absurdity of requiring from a tutor of mathematics, comparative anatomy, and such subjects, a declaration of assent to the Liturgy. So far from being conceived in a spirit of hostility to the Church, the bill would increase her sphere of usefulness and influence, and it would not prevent colleges from making by-laws on the point, but would simply relieve them from the statutory restriction which forbade them electing Dissenters.

Mr. WALPOLE moved the rejection of the bill, as a disturbance of the reasonable arrangement effected by the University Acts of 1854 and 1856, which gave Dissenters all the advantages of a University education, while they secured the government of colleges and the endowments to those who alone were entitled to them under the wills of the founders. After showing that this concession was not asked for by the colleges, he argued that the education of the Universities had always been connected with the Church of England; that this declaration was not a test, but a means of continuing that connection; and that the abolition of it must lead either to the establishment of various religious services or to the abolition of all services—to confusion of religion or indifference. Unless it were contended that Dissenters had a right to the endowments of the colleges, the bill had not a leg to stand upon, and, in reply to the fallacious plea that all subjects of the Queen had a right to all the benefits of these Universities, he asserted that, though the Universities might be a national institution in the sense that any man might resort to them for education, they were not national in the sense that all men were entitled to share in the endowments and the administration of the colleges without reference to the intentions of the founders. The grievance to the colleges under the present arrangement was not so great as would be the compulsory introduction of a Dissenting Fellow contrary to the desire of the other Fellows, and with regard to the grievance to individuals all the just complaints of Dissenters had been remedied by the establishment of London University and by the two University Acts, and, appealing to the example of London University and the Queen's Universities, he maintained that the result of the bill would be the destruction of religious teaching at the Universities.

Mr. FAWCETT asserted that Mr. Walpole had underrated the feeling of the colleges in regard to the bill, and mentioned various circumstances to show that at Cambridge many Fellows and Tutors were favourable to it. It was a permissive bill, and did not compel the election of Dissenters, but only allowed it if it were thought to be for the advantage of the college. This test—as he showed by various instances—sometimes prevented colleges electing their best men to be Fellows and Tutors, and its abolition

would promote their true interests without robbing the Church of England of any valuable security. He argued with great force and eloquence in support of the national character of the Universities, and the claims of all subjects of the Queen to share in their benefits and endowments, and maintained that the truest mode of carrying out the intentions of the founders was to bring the largest possible number of the nation within their walls.

The bill was opposed by Mr. Beresford Hope and Mr. Schreiber, who denied that there was any grievance to individuals, and supported by Mr. Goldsmid and Mr. Neate, who maintained that the endowments of the Universities could be dealt with by the State in any manner which seemed best for the public interest.

Mr. SELWYN pointed out that under the present law Dissenters could assume the duties of lecturers and private tutors; they were only excluded from the emoluments and administration, to which he showed at length that they had no legal or moral right.

Mr. T. CHAMBERS denied that the Universities were established for the exclusive benefit of the Church of England, or that they were ecclesiastical establishments, and urged that all classes of the Queen's subjects had a right to a full participation in all their benefits. That the religious education given there was not satisfactory he inferred from the establishment of various theological colleges.

Sir W. HATTHOPE, in the course of an argument against the bill, pointed out that the assertion that the endowments of the Universities were not in strict connection with the Established Church—if it was carried out to its extent—would render the Roman Catholics the only rightful claimants to those endowments, and they were the only class of Nonconformists who were excluded from the operation of the bill. The measure was a partial and ill-considered measure, which could only lead to difficulties and ought to be rejected.

Mr. BOUVIER, in reply, said he had no doubt that before a very long time the question of the oaths taken by Roman Catholics in connection with the holding of offices by persons of the Roman Catholic religion would occupy the attention of Parliament, and that subject was a much wider one than the question with which the bill proposed to deal. But he hoped his Roman Catholic friends would not for a moment suppose that he intended to exclude them from the advantages of the bill. They would be enabled to avail themselves of those advantages; because, as the House was aware, there was an act passed every year, retrospective as far as the period of the session which elapsed before the passing of the act, and prospective up to the commencement of the next session—to relieve from the penalties imposed by an old Act of Parliament those who did not take the oath of abjuration. The member for the University of Cambridge said that the bill would disturb the arrangements come to four years ago. The right hon. gentleman and his friends now took credit for that settlement, though they had resisted the basis on which it was founded. If it was right for Parliament to have interfered with the University, it ought to be thrown open to the nation. If, on the other hand, it was a private establishment, Parliament ought not to have interfered with it. (Hear, hear.) His right hon. friend said that the University had petitioned against the bill. He should like to know whether the colleges had petitioned against it. He admitted that a great number of them would not act on the bill, but he believed Trinity College would do so, and that other colleges would follow the example of Trinity.

The House divided—

For going into committee	208
Against	186
Majority	22

The announcement of the numbers was received with loud cheers from the Ministerial side of the House.

The bill then passed through committee without opposition.

Mr. WHALLEY moved the second reading of the Turnpike Roads Bill, the object of which is to abolish tolls generally, and to substitute a system of rates for the keeping up of the roads. A discussion which ensued was interrupted at a quarter to six.

The other business was disposed of, and the House adjourned at five minutes to six o'clock.

CHURCH-RATES.

On Thursday Lord J. MANNERS asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he had prepared amendments to the Bill for the Abolition of Church-rates, and, if so, when he proposed to lay them on the table of the House.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said that clauses had been prepared for the purpose of embodying in a formal shape the suggestions which he had submitted to the House in an informal manner upon the second reading of the Church-rates Bill, but he should wish to have a very few days more to enable himself and his colleagues to judge what prospect there might be of attaining a useful purpose by the production of those clauses as a Government measure, either in the form of clauses or in the form of a bill, whichever course might be deemed the more convenient; but he hoped on Monday to be able to give a formal answer to the question, and as the Church-rates Bill stood for Wednesday in the week after next, he thought thought there would be then ample time for the consideration of the amendments previously to the discussion on the measure.

Mr. BRIGHT wished to know whether the clauses

had been prepared in consultation with the hon. member for Bury St. Edmund's, or whether the Government intended to propose them without reference to the mover of the measure?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said that it was his first endeavour to get the clauses into form and then to submit them to his colleagues, and he certainly should wish to have the opinion of the hon. member for Bury St. Edmund's before committing himself by taking any steps in the House with reference to them.

THE BUDGET.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER announced that if the debate on the Representation of the People Bill should close the following evening, he proposed to make the financial statement next Thursday. (Cheers.)

THE REFORM BILL—ADJOURNED DEBATE.

Mr. LOWE, in resuming the debate, spoke, in the presence of a very crowded House, for nearly two hours and a half. In place of giving a feeble summary of his elaborated arguments and extracts, for which we have not space, we subjoin a sketch of the drift of his essay and the effect it produced, as given in the *Sheffield Independent*:—

When the various questions on the paper had been put and answered, all eyes were turned to the third Ministerial bench, where for some time previously the slim figure, white held, and scarlet face of the chief of the Adullamites might be seen, their owner waiting the while with uneasy motions, for the signal of the Speaker to arise in full view of the great assembly. The moment came, and the representative whom Caine does not delight to honour at once commenced his elaborate harangue. How shall I characterise either the manner or the matter of the hon. gentleman? He has done his best to neutralise the physical defects of his utterance, and with considerable success. His voice is more distinct; the flow of language is less rapid, although still, at times, too fast; he has methodised his ideas with a view to their logical sequence, but not so happily as on the occasion of his first speech, for he becomes discursive and repeats himself, while, however, never actually getting off the track. Speaking from a prominent place on the Liberal benches, he is yet listened to in dead silence by his own party. No murmur of approval proceeds from them; no solitary cheer even from Grosvenor or Elcho sustains him in his renegade enterprise; all around him is lowering and unsympathetic. But he looks not at the ranks of true Liberals from whose midst he yet dares to speak. He addresses the two hundred Tories who crowd the opposite benches, and his appeals to them do not remain unanswered. The listen with breathless attention and with beaming countenances, and reward every sarcastic taunt, every epigrammatic sophism, every hit at the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at Mr. Bright, at Lord Russell, at the working classes, with a frenzied roar of delight. They cheer as they have only been wont to cheer their leaders on a grand field night; they cheer like men intoxicated with a victory which has been rendered dearer to them by having been procured by treason in the enemy's camp. The exultation which they feel at the spectacle of so many Whigs turning against the cause of the people and becoming its most furious antagonists is simply indescribable. It is expressed by perfect yells of applause; by volleys of laughter; by a swaying to and fro which contrasts oddly with the immovable and gloomy attitude of the great party which, with the exception of some twenty or thirty renegades, still remains true to Russell and Reform, and to Gladstone as its chosen and trusty standard-bearer.

Why the Tories should have been so inordinately jubilant will easily be understood when Mr. Lowe's speech is read. He ventured to expound and to enforce doctrines which no man on the Conservative benches would have had the courage to avow, although they are doctrines which, notwithstanding the false pretences of the last few years, lie at the very root of the Tory faith. Disraeli would not avow them; indeed, if he spoke his mind, he would reprobate them according to their deserts, and spurn their expounders with the contempt which he has ever poured upon the pure oligarchists. But Toryism in its essence is unchanged and unchangeable; its votaries learn no lesson of wisdom from the history of the past or the signs of the future. They cheered Mr. Lowe when he denounced the wise and just principle that the franchise should be extended to citizens because they were believed to be fit to exercise it. They cheered him when he laid down the insidious dogma that the franchise was simply a means to an end (that end being what he called a just balance of classes, good government, and the maintenance of order), and when he affirmed that all these conditions were realised by the present House of Commons. They cheered him when with a vehemence of invective bordering almost upon insolence he accused the Chancellor of the Exchequer of seeking to insult and degrade the House of Commons, of lowering its dignity, of trying— from mere wantonness and love of power—to thrust it under the yoke, and of treating it like a horse which, when you want to ascertain whether he is a roarer or not, is put into a corner of the stable and punished. They cheered him when he invited the members for the rotten boroughs to vote against the bill because "the concealment" by the Government of the intended redistribution of seats justified them in putting the worst construction on its intentions. And how they hee-hawed when he scoffed at that fine passage in Mr. Gladstone's speech, in which the right hon. gentleman asked whether the working classes should be treated as an invading army, and whether they were not Christians, fathers of families, and our own flesh and blood. Yes, said Mr. Lowe, everybody in England professes to be Christians, including men, women, and children, and if the Chancellor's argument means anything, it is an argument for universal suffrage, and should include adults of both sexes. Whereupon the Tories grinned at this master-stroke of wit. They are flesh and blood. Yes, quoth the refined humourist, but this applies to the whole animal kingdom. Then there was, of course, another loud guffaw. Mr. Bright, who, during the whole of this melanoholy exhibition of perverted ability, had kept his gaze steadily fixed on the speaker, made some remark. Instantly the courteous orator, with an ugly

sneer, admonished him to make his soliloquies a little less of a stage soliloquy, and again the Tories shouted their approbation, as if some wondrously clever repartee had been made. Then he tried to turn the tables on the member for Westminster, on the strength of certain quotations—very brief, you may be sure—from works published by Mr. Mill in 1852 and 1861; and when that gentleman subsequently arose to make a correction, the courteous Tories greeted him with cries of "Order, order," which drowned his voice until he persisted in making himself both heard and understood.

The latter part of Mr. Lowe's speech was devoted to a characteristic and an elaborate attack on democracy, which he said he had learnt at Oxford was the government of the poor who were many over the rich who were few. The idea of any sane man quoting the Oxford interpretation of democracy as an authoritative exposition of that system of government! His denunciation of working men's combinations and of trades' unions was followed by a fearful picture of the results of democratic Government. It would lead to war; it would re-establish protection; it would elevate, as in America (!) bankrupts and traffickers in office to high places; it would weaken the Executive Government and ultimately divorce it from the House of Commons. Heaven knows what it would not do! The effects of democracy in Australia were so anarchical that he thought the Government would have either to abolish universal suffrage or withdraw responsible Government. He condemned the working classes for their sympathy with the Crimean war, although he was a member of Lord Aberdeen's Government which declared war against Russia. His diatribes against protective tariffs were cheered by the Tories, although the Tories were the fiercest supporters of monopoly, when monopoly meant the starvation of the people. Another attack on Mr. Bright; another attack on Mr. Gladstone; a studied sneer at Lord Russell—all of which provoked a perfect hurricane of Tory cheers—made way for a peroration in which he appeared as a kind of seer standing amid the ruins of the temple of our liberties.

Mr. HODGKINSON and Mr. LEEMAN supported the bill; Mr. YORKE and Lord ROYSTON opposed it. When the latter sat down more than a score of members sprang to their legs to catch the Speaker's eye, and the same eagerness was manifested throughout the evening as each successive speaker concluded. Mr. ALLEN and Mr. OTWAY followed in support, and Mr. DUFF in opposition to the measure. Mr. JAMES (Manchester) said that while cordially agreeing with the amendment, he felt bound to oppose it, as tending by its results to postpone the settlement of the question.

Mr. CHILDERS controverted some of the arguments of Mr. Lowe, Mr. Marsh, and Mr. Gregory derived from the workings of Democracy in Australia, and defended colonial legislation on such subjects as religion, education, and self-defence, maintaining that the defects of their commercial policy were attributable to the influence of the agricultural interest. It was true that a certain portion of the working classes were inclined to Protectionist doctrines, but the great body of the men were for free trade. The farmers, however, had a very strong organisation, and with the assistance of the working classes of their party were able to make a decided majority. It was clear, therefore, that democratic institutions in Victoria had not worked in a manner which ought to give much uneasiness to hon. gentlemen opposite. He then referred to the remarkable change in Mr. Lowe's views, which was hardly compatible with his denunciation of those who now held them. He read an extract from a speech delivered by the right hon. gentleman in Australia in favour of household suffrage, which was received with great laughter. In 1849 Mr. Lowe advised the citizens of Melbourne to look to America as their great example, and to follow the precedent of America. The right hon. gentleman ought not to have spoken in the way he had done of the hon. member for Birmingham considering the language he had himself used in former years. He had also spoken of the character of the British House of Commons. This was once his opinion:—

The blind, ignorant, and besotted stupidity [mind not of the working classes, but] of the English Parliament had rendered the superior intelligence of a portion of no avail whatever. (Loud cheers.) This besotted stupidity—this adherence for the sake of adherence to the solemn wisdom of our ancestors had retrograded measures of enlightenment long after the minds of the public were ripe for them. They had resisted improvement for years, and ten—nay twenty—years elapsed before the Corn-law Repeal Bill passed through Parliament, though public opinion was almost decisive about it.

(Cheers.) After a speech of this kind, the right hon. gentleman ought to be a little more liberal with those who had not, like himself, changed their former opinions. (Hear, hear.) One of the objections of Lord Stanley, in seconding the amendment, was to the Government endeavouring to pass an incomplete measure on the franchise, for the sake of hereafter carrying a measure for the redistribution of seats. But the noble lord, in 1859, in speaking upon Lord Derby's bill, said if the Government of that day had dealt with a large number of seats, the members for those fifty, sixty, or eighty seats would have been opposed to the bill for the extension of the franchise, and their opposition would have been fatal to it. (Cheers.) Here then was the very argument used in 1859 by the noble lord, which was a vindication of the conduct of the Government at the present time. (Cheers.) In reply to the objection that the bill would give predominance to the working men, he argued that no class could obtain predominance except it could elect members from its own body, and, having read other quotations from the unfulfilled vaticinations uttered before the Reform Act of 1832, he concluded by predicting that even should the amendment be successful the combination must fall to pieces immediately afterwards. If they up-

set the bill by such combination as he had described, they would find it very difficult to bring forward a new measure which the country would accept with the same cheerfulness. Referring to the motto quoted by Sir Stafford Northcote, *Sat cito si sat bene*, Mr. Childers reminded them that there was another proverb, *Bis dat qui cito dat*. (Cheers.)

The motion for adjournment made by Lord CRANBOURNE at twelve o'clock gave rise to the usual animated conversation, Captain GROSVENOR and Captain VIVIAN protesting against so early an adjournment, Mr. A. GRANT, Mr. WYLD, and others renewing the complaint that new members and independent members had not been allowed adequate opportunities of speaking, while Mr. WATKIN (meeting with no support) suggested that the House should meet on Friday at twelve o'clock. Ultimately the debate was adjourned until the usual hour.

The Lords' Amendments to the Parliamentary Oaths Bill were agreed to.

The remaining orders having been disposed of, the House adjourned at ten minutes to two o'clock.

On Friday there were abundant signs that the decisive moment was near at hand. The report in the *Times* says:—

The attendance of spectators in Palace-yard and Westminster Hall to see the members pass into the House of Commons was smaller than might have been expected—certainly much smaller than assembled on the first night of the debate. The leading members of both sides were, of course, easily recognised, and both were pretty equally applauded. Mr. Gladstone was very warmly received, though he hardly appeared to notice it, sitting back in an open carriage, and looking careworn and pale. Mr. Disraeli, who came a few minutes before, was quite as warmly cheered as Mr. Gladstone, the only difference being that whereas Mr. Gladstone was only cheered, several hisses mingled with the applause given to the Conservative chief. Beyond this there was no manifestation of hostile feeling to any one, and very little signs of feeling at all. On the night of the opening of the debate the spectators had all left Palace-yard by seven o'clock. It was not so, however, on Friday evening, but, on the contrary, the numbers continued to increase as the night wore on, and as the time for the expected division drew nigh there was probably a greater number of people in and about the lobbies, Westminster Hall, and Palace-yard than were ever before seen there at so late an hour.

It is scarcely necessary to say that in the House itself all the seats allotted to strangers, and those set aside for peers, peers' sons, and visitors of distinction were densely crowded—in fact, only two in the gallery facing the Speaker were unoccupied, and these were reserved for the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge. The body of the House, however, was by no means full, and contrasted strongly with the crowded attendance of the previous day, when Mr. Lowe opened the debate.

Lord CRANBOURNE, who opened the debate, was caustic and sneering. Though the working classes, as he freely admitted, differed in no respect in their nature and character as Englishmen from other classes, this bill subjected them to a special trial and temptation without calculating the consequences. The franchise to them was a convertible commodity; those who cared nothing for politics would use it to obtain bribes, and those who were anxious about politics would draw their advantage from it in class legislation. Captain GROSVENOR supported the bill in a lively speech; Mr. BULLER-JOHNSTONE opposed it in a smart one; The O'DONOGHUE spoke ably, heartily, and argumentatively in favour of the bill, and, after reminding the House that the Irish Liberals had loyally assisted their English brethren in every struggle, he concluded by an earnest profession of faith in the present Government.

The discussion was continued by Mr. A. GRANT; by Mr. HIBBERT, who maintained that working men did not possess their fair share of electoral power; and by Sir M. BEACH, who condemned the bill as tending to swamp the agricultural interest. Mr. BAINES, on the other hand, as a sincere friend to our mixed form of government, defended the bill as calculated to unite all classes by doing justice to large masses of our fellow-countrymen. Mr. NEWDEGATE, of course, saw no merits in the bill, while Mr. P. A. TAYLOR found a good many. The next speaker was Mr. E. J. HAYES, the Conservative member for Thetford, who made a strong declaration in favour of the bill as being moderate and conservative in character. He was followed by Mr. A. DUNCOMBE against and Mr. LOCKE KING for the measure, but the increasing impatience of the House and cries of "Divide," obliged the latter to cut short his speech.

Mr. DISRAELI rose at twenty-four minutes past ten o'clock amid loud and prolonged cheering from both sides of the House. He opened by denying that the House was pledged to Reform, and strove to show that nobody was pledged to it—including the Crown, the Cabinet, and Earl Russell himself. The present "pernicious" bill, he attributed to Mr. Gladstone's "rights-of-man" speech, a year and a half ago; and then he meandered, rather feebly, into historical reminiscences, which did not appear particularly apposite, but were heard with patience by both sides. In dealing with the effects of the bill he showed that a large mass of urban voters now residing beyond the bounds of Parliamentary boroughs would be imported into the county constituencies, and this he argued must destroy the just influence of the landed interest. He had no objection to the reduction of the county franchise, but it must be on the principle that the franchise should be exercised by those who were con-

nected with the property and industry of the country. In the same way he showed the effect of importing into the county constituencies the population of non-Parliamentary boroughs, and, in a long argument, maintained that it was impossible to fix the amount of the county franchise until the redistribution scheme was produced. In the absence of any definite information from the Government, he examined the various schemes of redistribution which have been floating about, dwelling on the difficulties of the question, and denying incidentally that the north is superior in population and property to the south. He had never believed that the result of these schemes of reform would be the downfall of the country, but it would end in the destruction of the House of Commons. With an extended suffrage and electoral districts, no doubt a great Parliament would be elected—every great landowner and every great manufacturer would have a seat.

But in a short time you would find that you did not have that hold on the executive power which you had under the old system. (Hear, hear.) The want of diversity of elements in this House would cause that. In proportion as your command over the Executive fades, your great proprietors and your great manufacturers will cease to belong to the House of which the influence and importance proportionately diminish. Then the story will be that the House of Commons is not what it was. Extend the franchise again, and you may go to manhood or universal suffrage, and you will not advance your case. You will have a Parliament then that will entirely lose its command over the Executive, and it will meet with less consideration and possess less influence; because the moment you have universal suffrage it always happens that the man who elects despises the elected. He says, "I am as good as he is, and although I sent him to Parliament, I have not a better opinion of him than I have of myself." Then, when the House of Commons is entirely without command over the Executive, it will be in the position of those Continental popular assemblies which we have seen rise up in our own days. There will be no spell of tradition; no claims of prescription; no evidence of aristocratic lineage; you will not have any of those great families round which men rally when liberty is assailed; no statesmanship, no eloquence, no learning, no genius. (Cheers.) Then, what will you have? You will have a herd of selfish and obscure mediocrities, incapable of anything but mischief, and that mischief devised and regulated by the wretched demagogue of the hour. (Loud cheers.)

He was surprised that the amendment should have been resisted, that it should, indeed, have been permitted to exist. Even if the noble lord the member for Chester had not come forward to oppose the bill, somebody on those benches must have done so—(ironical cries of "Hear"); for while they were perfectly willing to consider a complete measure of reform, and had shown their readiness to do so—(Hear, hear)—they must still have opposed that measure, for the reasons he had stated in connection with the county franchise. He then quoted a speech made by Mr. Gladstone when he was an undergraduate in 1831 against the Reform Bill, which was followed by cries of "Oh, oh!" from the Ministerial benches below the gangway, loud cheering from the Opposition, and counter-cheering from the Ministerial benches. Passing to the reduction of the borough franchise, he denied that the question before the House was whether they were a raid of the working classes, it was whether they could improve the English constitution. After discussing the constitutional principles of representation, he asserted that in an age like this the elements of the representation must be varied, but, at the same time, choice, numerous enough to be independent, but select enough to be responsible; and, after explaining the course taken by Lord Derby's Government on this question and

(Continued on page 352.)

Postscript.

Wednesday, May 2, 1866.

AUSTRIA, PRUSSIA, AND ITALY.

BERLIN, May 1.—A reply, dated the 29th, to the Austrian note of the 26th ult., has been forwarded to Baron von Werther, the Prussian ambassador in Vienna, stating that Prussia does not agree to the proposal of the Vienna Cabinet in reference to the question of the Duchies. It lays special stress upon the community of interests of Prussia and Italy, and gives an evasive answer to the Austrian proposal for disarmament.

VIENNA, May 1.—The *Presse* of to-day says that the negotiations between the Prussian Cabinet and a special agent of the Italian Government continue.

FLORENCE, May 1.—The Senate to-day approved, by 78 votes against 1, the bill passed yesterday by the Chamber of Deputies, empowering the Ministry to provide the financial means necessary for the defence of the country. A popular demonstration took place here to-day in favour of war. Shouts were raised of "Long live the King, the Army, and Garibaldi!" Intelligence from the provinces to-day announces the universal enthusiasm of the people, the troops, and all political parties in view of the probability of war. A great popular demonstration has taken place at Naples in favour of the Government armaments.

YESTERDAY'S PARLIAMENT.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

In the House of Lords, the LORD CHANCELLOR moved the second reading of the Capital Punishment

Amendment Bill, which is founded on the report of a royal commission appointed in 1844, and which provided that murder should be classified, the first degree to be punishable by death, while the second would not be subjected to the same penalty. The first degree was that in which the crime was deliberate, and committed with intention; and the second, murder committed for the purpose of facilitating escape from the consequences of other offences. The bill also provided that executions for murder should no longer be public, but be conducted in a certain sense privately, due security being taken for their proper conduct. The Earl of MALMESBURY objected to the privacy of executions. The Bishop of OXFORD defended it. Lord ROMILLY objected to capital punishment altogether. The bill was read a second time.

The Qualification for Offices Abolition Bill passed through committee.

In the House of Commons, in answer to Mr. Cheetham, Sir G. GREY said that the Government would, most probably, continue the operation of the Cattle Diseases Prevention Act relating to the slaughtering and compensation after 10th May.

Mr. BOUVERIE moved for a commission to inquire into the existence of corrupt practices at elections at Totnes. After some discussion, during which Sir G. GREY, on the part of the Government, acceded to the motion, it was agreed to. Mr. MOWBRAY made a like motion with regard to Great Yarmouth, which was agreed to. Mr. H. VIVIAN moved in like manner in regard to Reigate, and Mr. HOWES in respect to Lancaster.

Then Mr. FERRAND wanted to alter his motion in reference to the Harden petition, and in the discussion which ensued, Mr. SMOLLETT read a letter in reference to the getting-up of the Glasgow petition in favour of the Franchise Bill. The letter made a series of allegations as to the petition, the effect of which was that numerous fictitious signatures had been put to it. An inquiry, however, elicited the fact that the letter was anonymous. Finally, Mr. FERRAND withdrew his motion, and the committee on the Harden petition will remain as before. Several bills were advanced a stage, and early in the evening the House was counted out.

The Harwich election committee have decided that Captain Jervis is not disqualified from sitting in Parliament. The allegations of bribery against the captain and his colleague, Mr. Kalk are to be gone into to-day. The Cheltenham and Huddersfield committees were occupied all the day in receiving evidence.

The election for Helston has terminated in the return of Mr. Campbell, the Liberal candidate—by a very narrow majority, however. At four o'clock, as we understand the telegram we have received, the numbers were equal—Campbell, 153; Brett, 153. The Mayor gave the casting vote to Mr. Campbell, and declared him to be duly elected.

There was a meeting of the National Reform Union at Manchester yesterday, presided over by Mr. George Wilson. Mr. Bright, M.P., was present, and spoke briefly. He pointed out the necessity of all reformers doing what they could to strengthen the hands of the Government. As to the Distribution Bill, he said, if it were as good a measure as the Franchise Bill, it ought to have the support of all reformers. He declared that if the Government departed from the vital principles of their bill no measure they could pass would be a permanent settlement of the question. If they maintained their position—and there was no reason to doubt they would—then, if they were beaten, they ought not to resign, but to appeal to the country.

A crowded and influential meeting of the electors of Lambeth was held last evening at the "Horns," Kennington, to take into consideration the political conduct in Parliament of Mr. F. Doulton, one of the borough members. Mr. J. Richardson, O.C., presided. Mr. Doulton was not present, but a letter, dated at Paris, was read from him, in which he stated that if he were able to attend the meeting he should be able to justify to the great body of his constituents the course which he felt it his duty to take. The meeting was addressed by several electors, and a vote of want of confidence in Mr. Doulton was passed, as well as resolutions calling upon him to tender his resignation, and appointing a deputation to wait on and request him to do so.

Convocation assembled yesterday in the Jerusalem Chamber. The first business done in the Upper House was to receive the Queen's reply to a congratulatory address on the approaching marriage of the Princess Helena. In the Lower House a large number of petitions were presented, and there was a long discussion in reference to the proposed Court of Final Appeal in ecclesiastical causes.

MARK-LANE.—THIS DAY.

Fresh up to our market to-day the arrivals of home-grown wheat were but moderate. For the best samples there was a steady demand, at full prices; but the trade for inferior qualities was very inactive, on former terms. There was a fair supply of foreign wheat on the stands. Most descriptions were in moderate request, at Monday's currency. Floating cargoes of grain moved off slowly, at late rates. The supply of barley on sale was tolerably large. The trade was dull, at late rates. Malt was in slow request, at previous quotations. Oats were in good supply, and steady request. Fine samples sold at full prices, but inferior qualities were rather cheaper. Beans and peas met a slow sale, at late rates. The flour trade was quiet, on former terms.

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A SECOND EDITION of the *Nonconformist*, with SUPPLEMENT, will be published to-morrow afternoon, containing a Report of the Annual Council and Public Meeting of the Liberation Society which will be held to-night. The Report will, of course, be transferred to our issue of next week; but any of our Subscribers who desire to see it before that time can do so by sending their name and address, with one postage-stamp, when the Supplement will be forwarded to them.

The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 2, 1866.

SUMMARY.

COMPLAINT is made of the contradictory nature of Reuter's continental telegrams, but probably they only faithfully reflect the prevalent bewilderment in every capital in Europe. Everybody seems to expect war, without exactly knowing why. The most advanced position has been taken by Italy—the Chamber of Deputies at Florence having unanimously passed this resolution, "That at this momentous crisis every preparation for war should be made," and the latest telegrams from that city speak of the universal enthusiasm of the people, the troops, and all political parties in view of the probability of war. Whatever, therefore, the wishes of the Italian Government, the decision seems now to have almost passed from their hands. In Paris the holding of a special Council of Ministers, presided over by the Emperor, has been followed by an article in the *Constitutionnel* stating that should war break out "France will in no way be responsible," but has reserved to herself "complete liberty of action." The Paris Bourse responds to this article by going through another panic. The sole hope of the preservation of peace in Europe would seem to rest on the pressure which Napoleon III. can bring to bear upon Italy, and that influence he apparently declines to exercise.

The week's interval before the resumption of the Reform struggle in Parliament is not likely to be thrown away out of doors. Yesterday the National Reform Union held a meeting at Manchester, and passed a resolution, expressing unabated confidence in the Government, and approval of their recent declaration not to relax their efforts to pass the Bill for the representation of the people into law, but assuring them that no measure which falls short in its principal provisions of the present Bill will be satisfactory to the people. This determination was endorsed by Mr. Bright, who urged the Government to take their stand absolutely on the vital points of their Bill, and warned them that if any compromise were attempted the question would not receive a permanent or even temporary settlement. He had no reason whatever to believe that Ministers would not be firm. But there might be occasion for a great struggle. "Next Monday night," said the hon. member for Birmingham, "will be the first night when you will have any distinct intimation of the temper of parties in the House of Commons. When we see that the same opposition is to be made, that probably the Bill or Bills and the Government may be in jeopardy, then I think nothing could be more wise than that the whole Liberal party throughout the country should give that expression of support which would convince the Government that change of their Bills, or withdrawal of their Bills, or postponement of their Bills, or the resignation of the Government, would be a fatal policy. (Great cheering.) The Bill in 1831 was not carried without a dissolution of Parliament. It may be that this Bill must go through the same ordeal." (Cheers.) Such is Mr. Bright's programme.

It is probable that the Government will stand in a better position next week in respect to votes, than

was the case last week. Several elections are impending which promise to increase the Liberal majority. Yesterday a reformer was once more returned for Helston; Windsor will before many days have the opportunity of again returning two Liberals; and Lord Amberley and Mr. Handel Cossham are being enthusiastically supported by the whole Liberal party in Nottingham. Apparently the Government will gain rather than lose by the election inquiries which are still pending; and even if the thirty-three opponents of Reform on the Ministerial benches should all resolve to repeat their vote of last week, the Government majority in committee on the Bill may be larger than it has been.

The protracted inquiry into the outbreak in Jamaica is concluded, and two of the commissioners have returned to England with their report, which will be shortly laid before Parliament. It is now definitely ascertained that the total number of lives sacrificed by the authorities was 438; 600 persons, including many women, were flogged; and about a thousand negro dwellings burnt down. Sir Henry Storks, whose impartiality is praised on all sides, will remain behind till his permanent successor is appointed or installed, and it is expected that Mr. Eyre, whom the *Times* has finally given up, will be speedily recalled by the Home Government.

The principal news from America relates to the Fenians and Mexico. In pursuance of their project of working upon the disaffection of New Brunswick, and seizing the islet of Campo Bello as a depot, the American Fenians have gathered in large numbers in the villages along the coast and frontier under the leadership of Doran Killian. But they are not only confronted by British troops, but General Meade is at Eastport with a detachment of regular troops ready to enforce neutrality, and put down any filibustering attempt.—It seems to have been arranged that when the French troops are withdrawn from Mexico, they are to be replaced by Austrian volunteers. This scheme the United States Government are resolved to prevent. Their Minister at Vienna, upon the first embarkation of Austrian troops for Mexico has been instructed to demand his passport and credentials and leave Vienna, and the Austrian Minister at Washington will also be sent away. The Court of Vienna, threatened with war at home, is not likely to resist this stern demand, and will probably leave the Emperor Maximilian to his fate.

POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF REFORM.

ABOUT break of day on Saturday last the great Reform debate closed with a division which gave a majority of five only to the Government. Mr. Gladstone has since explained the intentions of Ministers. They will not resign their offices. They do not look upon the result as adverse to Reform. Bills for extending the franchise in Scotland and Ireland, and for the Redistribution of Seats, will be severally introduced to the House of Commons on Monday next, and time will be given for considering the bearings and probable effect of the whole scheme. The mode of procedure will then be determined on, and Parliament will be asked to make an earnest effort to settle the matter, and so get it fairly out of hand.

It is impossible at the moment to give any very confident opinion as to the proximate future of either the Reform question or the Administration. If the motion upon which the House of Commons divided had been one on which the issue was direct, we should have deemed the narrowness of the majority tantamount to defeat. But it would be unfair so to interpret the division. The amendment for which the minority voted expressed no objection to the subject-matter of the Bill, but simply to the mode of proceeding with the general question of Reform which the Ministers had adopted. What the dissentients insisted upon as indispensable to a satisfactory settlement, will now be supplied. All the information required will be given, and further pretext for resisting Government, at least on the ground of their form of dealing with the question, will not exist. Unless, therefore, the Bill for the Redistribution of Seats be such as to aggravate the fears, real or affected, of the anti-reforming party, they will have no logical *locus standi* against the Ministerial scheme. The more obvious danger seems to be that it may fall so far short of the expectations of the advanced Liberals as to abate their zeal for the success of the measure. Still, it does not strike one as probable that Earl Russell and the Chancellor of the Exchequer would take back with one hand what they have given with the other, or that the second Bill will have been so framed as to neutralise the virtue of the first. It will most likely show a cautious and somewhat Conservative handling of the matter, and, viewed in connection with the Representation of the People Bill, will make up a moderate programme of organic change.

On this latter hypothesis what are the prospects of the question—for if we can determine that, we determine also the prospects of the Ministry? Unhappily, there is no warrant for concluding with

any high degree of confidence that the only rational course open to the minority will certainly be taken. Indeed, if we were to submit to the guidance of precedent, we should be compelled to conclude that the mere fact that a proposed course commended itself to reason would raise a presumption that the Conservatives, under Mr. Disraeli's guidance, will not take it. Still, there seems ground for supposing that we may have witnessed the first and the last serious struggle of parties on this most important question. The considerations bearing upon this point that occur to our mind are the following.

There is no further hope, not so much as a shred of hope, that the question of Reform can now be evaded by Parliament. The discussion just terminated shows clearly enough that a repetition of the Palmerstonian tactics has become impossible. Some settlement of the controversy has been recognised as at length imperative. The spirit which has been raised cannot again be laid. "The bridge" has been "broken down." "The boats" have been "burned." "The Rubicon" has been "passed." This particular scheme may be defeated, and the present Government may be worried out of office. But the formation in future of any Administration upon a basis that ignores the necessity of a Reform Bill has been rendered not only practically but visibly impossible. For good, or for evil, the thing is inevitable.

Then, again, it would seem indisputable, except, we suppose, to Mr. Disraeli, and to some few gentlemen who are hungering for secondary offices under him, that the question is one which the Conservative party neither can nor ought to take in hand for legislative settlement. They lost political prestige to an incalculable extent by the one attempt they made in that direction, and they have never forgiven themselves, or rather their leader, for that demoralising mistake. They may have, and many of them, we believe, have been driven to the conclusion that the pressure of public opinion can no longer be wisely nor safely resisted, but it is for them to supply towards the settlement of it, not the stimulative energy of promoters, but the keen vigilance of an Opposition. By them, as a Parliamentary party, office is unassailable, certainly untenable, so long as the question of an amended representation of the people remains undisposed of. They are not likely to cross the floor of the House to any good purpose whilst this obstacle lies in their way. It would be a "stone of stumbling to them," and the sensible members of the party well know it, nay, frankly admit it.

Further, it is extremely improbable that a Liberal Cabinet will ever again offer to conduct the question to a settlement under such favourable terms as those now submitted to the House of Commons. It will be easy enough to prevent this Bill, and any others by which it may be followed from becoming law—but should that course be taken, it will put it out of the power of a popular Administration to limit its future proposals to such modest boundaries. Public opinion may be said to have put a constraint upon itself in accepting a plan so much more cautiously conceived than it had anticipated, and it is more than likely that it would not assent to a reproduction of it by the present Government.

All this, and very much more to the same purpose, will have occurred, no doubt, to the minds of intelligent Conservatives since the division on Saturday morning. The Opposition have asserted their independence, and, no doubt, have gratified their party pride. They cannot do more—at any rate in the way of obstruction—without doing harm to themselves. They have a fair opportunity of gaining credit for both firmness and conciliation, if they now restrict their efforts to a *bonâ fide* improvement of the Ministerial scheme—firmness in what they have done, conciliation in what they are about to do. There are some indications—slight enough we admit—that a general attempt will be made to agree upon the substance of the change to be effected, and to give all the time which remains of the present Session, so far as it is available for this question, to a careful and statesmanlike adjustment of the details it involves. It may happen, after all, that the entire scheme will be carried; or, it may be that the House of Commons, confiding in the integrity and the moderation of the Government, will consent to pass the Franchise Bill this Session, and supplement it with other measures next Session. There is room, we think, for agreement in the main—and if this be the case, the mode of procedure is of secondary importance. Our impression is that the time spent in discussion has not been altogether wasted—and our hope is that, notwithstanding the closeness of the division, the Bill will pass.

AUSTRIA, PRUSSIA, AND ITALY.

SCARCELY had the public begun to breathe freely in prospect of the probable termination of the diplomatic dispute between Austria and Prussia, when the menace of war showed itself in a different and quite unexpected direction. Italy seems to have

provoked Austria into a fit of uncontrollable fury. There can be no doubt, we suppose, that Prussia and Italy, probably with the connivance, if not at the secret suggestion, of France, had effected an understanding with each other as to any aid to be given by one to the other, in case of a final rupture with Austria. The Emperor Francis Joseph, wrought upon by the influence of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena, may have become so incensed at the Government of Florence for lending a willing ear to the whisperings of Count Bismark, as to have rendered himself more than ordinarily susceptible to the suspicion that Italy meant mischief. Or, his agents, for aught we can tell, may have detected a deep-laid plot, perhaps concocted in the neighbourhood of the Tuileries, affecting the integrity of his Empire. Whatever may have been the cause, Austria had no sooner appeared to dismiss from her thoughts an armed collision with Prussia, than she saw, or affected to see, ground for apprehension in Italy. In his recent despatch to the representatives of the Italian Court abroad, General La Marmora denies that a single movement had been made by Italy which Austria could reasonably have interpreted as a threat, before she began to act as if war was both imminent and inevitable. The army, he says, was placed upon the most rigorous peace footing. The ordinary levy had been provisionally postponed. No concentration of troops had taken place. No commencement or preparation of private attempts against neighbouring territories had been made. "A perfect calm had not ceased to reign among the population." Suddenly Austria has assumed a highly threatening attitude. She has called out all classes of her reserve. She has directed on Italy the regiments of the military border. She has even suspended the goods traffic of the Venetia railway lines, and monopolised them for the transport of troops and materials of war—measures which ordinarily follow the opening of hostilities. It is not to be wondered at that Italy should respond to these so-styled gratuitous provocations. The Chamber of Deputies at Florence have voted unanimously, and amid loud cheers, a Bill authorising the Government, until the end of July, to incur the requisite expenditure for the defence of the State, and to provide by extraordinary means for the necessities of the Treasury. A council of Ministers has been held in Paris. There is a panic on the Bourse. Five per cent. Italian stock has fallen four-and-a-half per cent., and has become unsaleable. The correspondents from Italy to the French press are unanimously of opinion that war is close at hand, and the bearing of the Italian Ministers indicates their belief that hostilities have been determined upon.

All this wears the air of deep mystery. A short time since it seemed as if Prussia were the Power most bent upon war. Now that she has subsided into comparative calm, Austria claps her hand to the sword, and advances with threats and accusations upon Italy. Italy, on her side, is by no means indisposed to risk a collision, hoping, no doubt, that Venetia will at length be rescued from Austrian domination. Nay, even the secondary States of Germany are beginning to grow intractable, as if in sympathy with Austrian irritability. Saxony returns an evasive reply to Prussia's summons to disarm, and even Bavaria thinks that it will be unsafe to comply with the demand, until some better assurance is given that the Schleswig-Holstein question is in the way of being pacifically arranged. Everywhere there seems to be consciousness of an approaching peril. Prussia is once more pushing her troops nearer to the Austrian frontier. Austria, probably in response, is pouring soldiers into Galicia as well as Venetia, and Prussia has countermanded her orders for disbanding her Silesian reserves. The hope of preserving peace is small indeed, when armies are being moved front to front with each other, whilst diplomatists are bandying recriminations to and fro.

"We are still as far as ever from knowing," says our contemporary, the *Globe*, "what is the key to all this warlike ardour? We only know that Austria believes she is threatened by several foes, Italy and Prussia prominently among them, and that Italy believes herself to be threatened by Austria." "If," continues the writer, "if it is a game of brag, it is a very costly one. These strong measures tend to produce the very thing it is charitable to suppose they are devised to prevent. As David Hume said when he witnessed a similar spectacle, it is like 'a bout of cudgel-playing in a china shop.' Not one of the parties, except Prussia, is solvent. Not one of them can allege, or at least does allege, any indisputable warrant for an appeal to the sword. Yet if we are to put trust in appearances, we should say that an appeal to the sword there must be. And for what? Who can say? Where are the real causes of war? Who can supply us with the key to the mystery? No one has done so. Perhaps we shall only know ten years hence what it is all about. So far as our interests are concerned we can afford to wait and learn the true causes and motives for what is now inexplicable—for an explanation of the reason why two States

like Austria and Italy, both over head and ears in debt, seem ready to increase the debt and decrease the means of payment. It is a very lamentable spectacle."

NOTES OF THE SESSION.

BEFORE the great Reform debate was resumed on Thursday, two significant incidents occurred. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the assurance of a Minister who was not expecting to abdicate his position, announced, with a *sang froid* which quite captivated the House, that he should on the following Thursday (to-morrow) make his financial statement. Lord John Manners having asked for information relative to the proposed amendments in the Church-rates Abolition Bill, Mr. Gladstone stated that clauses had been prepared putting into formal shape the suggestions he had thrown out on the second reading, and that after they had been submitted to his colleagues, the opinion of Mr. Harcastle would be taken upon them. On Monday, in reply to further inquiries, the right hon. gentleman said that he hoped to be able to-morrow to state what course the Government would pursue on the subject, and that as full time ought to be given for the ample consideration of the new clauses, he trusted that Mr. Harcastle's Bill, which stands for committee on Wednesday next, would be postponed. To-morrow night, therefore, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's detailed scheme for settling the Church-rate question will be made known. If it should simply embody in legal forms the proposals made by him on the second reading, and devise adequate and unobjectionable machinery for carrying out the voluntary rate system, it is known beforehand that Dissenters will accept the compromise. The opportunity of settling the question on this basis will thus be afforded to the Opposition and the House of Lords. Should they give their assent, Mr. Harcastle's Bill, thus modified, may become the law of the land before the lapse of many weeks.

In reopening the Reform debate on Thursday before a densely-crowded House, Mr. Lowe put forth all his powers. As an intellectual effort, his speech was unrivalled during the long discussion. He exhausted his sarcasm and wealth of illustration in attempting to prove that Ministers, in throwing down before them a Suffrage Bill, and concealing the rest of their plan, were acting out of mere "wantonness," and aiming to "degrade and lower the character of the House of Commons." It was an effective line of argument to urge upon an assembly hostile to reform, and elicited uproarious cheers. Mr. Gladstone's "flesh-and-blood" speech was dealt with after a similar fashion, and was shown to be good for nothing at all, except for extending the franchise to the whole of the people of the country. In like manner the lowering of the franchise to 7% on account of the fitness of the working classes was held to prove that there was no resting-place till universal suffrage was reached. Having quoted Mr. Mill against himself, Mr. Lowe proceeded to give a description of the working of trades unions, in order to show their power of combination, the system of terrorism they exercised, their tendency to reduce all their members to one dead level, and the kind of democracy with which it was proposed to flood the electoral body, reduce Parliament to a house of delegates, and thus leave nothing to intervene between the multitude and the throne. With somewhat more of moderation and subtlety of argument, Mr. Lowe's speech was just such a jeremiad as would have suited Parliament when the Reform Bill of 1832 was under discussion—a downright Tory oration which even Mr. Bentinck would have hesitated to deliver, and which, as Mr. Gladstone afterwards said, contained so many fine passages that they might be, as were the dismal predictions of Burke, copied into school-books, but so little to the purpose that the gifted ex-Minister was like the princess in the fairy tale upon whom all endowments was conferred but the power of rightly using them.

It was a happy idea to put up to answer Mr. Lowe, another Australian of quite a different calibre and quality of mind. Mr. Childers, though incapable of rhetorical feats, has a fund of good sense, and an intimate acquaintance with our colonies at the antipodes. He showed that the institutions of the Australian colonies were, on the whole, working admirably, but the chief service he rendered was a reproduction of Mr. Lowe's former opinions in favour of democracy, in eloquent praise of American institutions, and in condemnation of the House of Commons as "blind, ignorant, and besottedly stupid."

The final debate was at last in sight. By general agreement the struggle was to end with the week, and the utmost anxiety was shown to witness the closing scene. When the House met at four o'clock, every position to which strangers had access was occupied, but the House itself was not crowded. Surfeited with Parliamentary speeches, hon. members husbanded their powers of endurance for the closing duel between the two leaders which had been fixed to come off at half-past ten o'clock. Lord Cranbourne, greater in the pages of the *Quarterly Review* than on the floor of the House,

did not attract, though he did his best to trace the underground connection between Mr. Bright, the "Head Centre" of the conspiracy, and the Government by the agency of the President of the Board of Trade. The intermediate time was filled up by such members as could catch the Speaker's eye—new members having the preference—who were limited to fifteen minutes each. The cause of the Government was effectively aided by the speech of Captain Grosvenor, the appearance of Mr. Harvey, a Conservative, as an independent supporter of the Bill, and most of all by the hearty, generous adhesion of The O'Donoghue. As time wore on, cries of "Divide" prevailed, till at length Mr. Locke King was clamoured down, and Mr. Disraeli rose with the vigour of an athlete for a final wrestle. The right hon. gentleman began with moderation. Having absolved all parties from their Reform pledges, he entered upon a laboured argument, which was the driest, though the most weighty portion of his speech, to show the vital consequence of the redistribution of seats, and the fixing of boundaries, in a scheme of Parliamentary Reform. Granted the necessity of maintaining the preponderance of the landed interest in the Commons House of Parliament, Mr. Disraeli's arguments were irresistible. Like a wise Tory leader—so he with emphasis proclaimed himself—he took his stand on the integrity of the county franchise, being quite willing to reduce it to 10% if it be not swamped by urban votes. With regard to boroughs the right hon. gentleman was more vague, dealing, after Mr. Lowe's fashion, in predictions of a democratic Parliament, composed of "a herd of selfish and obscure mediocrities, incapable of anything but mischief devised and regulated by the wretched demagogue of the hour." In the same style he sketched Mr. Mill's model constitutional régime, to be followed by insurrection. In replying to Mr. Bright's late fierce attack on the Tory party, he was complimentary to the "political Danton," while fiercely assailing him, but to Mr. Gladstone he showed no mercy. Mr. Disraeli had a great opportunity, but hardly rose to it. His speech was prolix with occasional flashes of sarcasm and humour; and though his peroration was ineffective, his followers made up for his deficiencies by a hurricane of applause.

Mr. Gladstone's turn had now come. The rude interruption of the Opposition, as he sarcastically referred to Mr. Disraeli's opinion that a Bill which proposed to add 400,000 voters to the present constituency was an attempt to reconstruct our institutions on American principles, was so effectually rebuked that he was not again interrupted. With great effect he vindicated himself from the charge of distrusting the House of Commons. When he spoke at Liverpool he was alluding, not to the House, but (in a metaphorical sense) to "certain crooked, deformed, and little men," of whom Mr. Lowe was foremost. His generous eulogy on Earl Russell, his happy reference to his undergraduate speech, and his description of Earl Grosvenor's dilemma, were in Mr. Gladstone's happiest style. And then he described the main issue—to ascertain who were for and who against a reduction of the franchise. To Mr. Lowe's assertion that they knew nothing of the working classes, one single word was a sufficient reply—and that was Lancashire. In a peroration of matchless power he apostrophised the Liberal benches, and looked forward to "the coming struggle." "You may possibly," said the eloquent leader of the House, in conclusion, "succeed at some point of the contest. You may drive us from our seats. You may bury the Bill that we have introduced; but for its epitaph we will write upon its gravestone this line, with certain confidence in its fulfilment—

Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.

(Cheers.) You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side. (Cheers.) The great social forces which move on in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb—those great social forces are against you; they are marshalled on one side, and the banner which we now carry, though perhaps at some moment it may droop over our sinking heads, yet it soon again will float in the eye of heaven, and it will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the three kingdoms, perhaps not an easy, but to a certain and a not distant victory." At three o'clock on Saturday morning the great division took place. The exciting scene is amply described elsewhere. The majority of five in favour of the Government, in the largest House assembled of late years, was regarded as sufficient to save the Government. And in that sense, as Monday's proceedings showed, the Government interpreted it. The announcement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he would proceed with the Bill was received with loud cheers, and effectually disposed of all the reports of a new coalition Government. Next week the conflict will recommence on a clearer issue, and the spirit of Mr. Gladstone's concluding speech is a guarantee that Ministers will not flinch from their duty. But whether they will be prepared, as they will now be justified, if defeated on the merits of their Reform scheme, to appeal to the country, time will show.

GROWING.

THE world is so full of parables, you can only select one at a time; as in a great picture-gallery it is well not to look at everything. Just now it would seem as if all the powers of nature were being called up in classes to conjugate the verb, to grow. "Growing, they are growing, we are growing, let us grow," is characterised on all the trees on the wood, and in every tangled and thorny hedge. It is spring surely which ushers in the real new year, and not January. You feel compensated, and a great deal more, for all the chilly days and colourless landscapes which are now passing away as the wide and varied plant-world begins to rise through all its periods and "circumstantial grades" of returning, reappearing energy, into the glory with which the Creator, as by His own living touch, "reneweth the face of the earth."

The very squares and terraces of London will hardly know themselves for the next few weeks, so will the same secret subtle power have extended to them, which will run its course at the same time through the fields and green country lanes. In reality, as in poet's verse, there are wild flowers and garden flowers which come always hand in hand:—

"Bring orchids, bring the forget-me-nots,
The little speedwell's darling blue,
Bring tulips, dashed with fiery dew,
Laburnum, dropping walls of fire."

No doubt there are mighty and indeed stupendous forces perpetually at work in order to produce all this splendour. The operation of spinning machinery or Jacquard-frames is not a whit busier or more incessant than the tasks which go on as they are moved and controlled by the great driving-wheel of the sun, whether it be the swelling bud, or the rising sap, or the carbon decomposed from its invisible aerial compound, and built up into soft but firm tissues or solid wood. Yet how silently the immense movement goes on! How does the great living temple "spring and grow up, he knoweth not how," day and night, whether a man wake or sleep, without any noise like the sound of hammer and saw! Human life and progress are of course a very much higher thing, intended to constitute a grander, more enduring temple, but the difficulties and risks multiply in the exact ratio of the value of the end to be gained. Compared with nature, human nature develops itself neither so quietly nor according to the same fixed rule of proportion. In the soul there are happy tokens of spring and of ripening summer, brought face to face continually, and in one and the same mind, with antinatural torpor and decay, and the wintry winds of worldly unbelief and unconcern. Many good and perfect gifts of God come to us unawares, but how easy it is, too, to drift unconsciously into dispositions which are neither gentle nor pure, and how many an unholy desire in a man's mind springeth and groweth up, he knoweth not how!

The very growth of the body in the human subject is a troublesome business. What used to be called "growing pains" are but one symptom out of many of the ailing and discomfort which attend so simple a process as the act of growing bigger and taller. Even such minute portions of our bodily framework as teeth do not always obtain the calcareous or other ingredients which they want just as they want them, or accommodate themselves without something of a fight for pre-eminence to the softer tissues which surround them. Men whose brains have done service to the world have had a very narrow escape sometimes of being sacrificed at an earlier period to the bodily strain of the building up of their flesh and their bones. Very many lives, indeed, were lost in that way, and lost gratuitously. Woe to those who at such a point in their physical history, are kept on diet which is not sufficient, or not nourishing, or who are overtaxed seriously either with bodily labour or with lessons! With all respect for the motives of our friends the total abstinents, we believe that there are many wretched, permanently-enfeebled constitutions, to which a daily glass of wine for a single twelvemonth would have guaranteed for life a steadier and more generous vitality. We have heard some of the abnormal characteristics of the Brontë family accounted for by their unsystematic, unsatisfying, bread-and-butter style of living when they were children, and the explanation does not seem unlikely. The body is as much inferior to the soul as a horse is to a man: but it is better, if you must use a horse, not to breed him up in a way which will ensure his breaking down prematurely, besides being never more than half up to his work; and a good animal condition and some reserve of animal power are at least as important to every man or woman as the excellence of any horse can be to his owner.

There is not the least occasion to purchase such advantages too dear. So far as the first experiences of life are concerned, stinted and meagre fare is at least as likely to promote sensual indulgence in later years as a wholesome and well-covered table. There will always, at the same time, be habits and lusts which admit of being discouraged in their very commencement, and perhaps nipped in the bud. Some vices of character may be traced as distinctly to their historical origin, in a bad example or bad custom, as the excrescences on rose-trees and oaks are known to be caused by what took place long before, when some almost microscopic insect punctured the leaf, and deposited a single drop of powerful and acrid fluid in the wound. It would not be difficult to work out with a certain logical consistency a theory which should reduce the whole duty of man to a system of habits—habits to be avoided and habits to be formed. Montaigne, in one of his essays, assumes that even the wearing of clothes is purely a matter of habit. You are not at all sure whether he is earnest or in jest, but he argues gravely that a few trivial distinctions of climate do not really affect the question, and that dress is, in fact, a striking deviation from nature. "As those who by artificial light put out that of the day, so we by borrowed forms have destroyed our own." But "growing" means a great deal more than merely being used to one kind of action or enjoyment and unused to another.

To escape bad and foolish habits is more important than to be well-developed in muscles and limbs, but neither object holds the principal or very first rank in the story of a life. The rule which goes to the foundation is not that you are to be restrained from evil, but that the opposites of evil are in some way to be made attractive and dear to you. To be not indifferent to the beautiful, to honour the true, to revere and practise the good, to carry these preferences and desires in trusting, adoring affections within the veil, in a life hid with Christ in God—if these are habits, they must be habits which are rooted far more deeply than mere use and wont. You cannot make even a tree grow by clipping and pruning, if there be not life ever rising, ever active within. Next to the nourishment and light which intelligence and conscience may at a very early period take in—next to placing within the range of a child's sympathies in any natural manner interests which are neither selfish nor small—we should be inclined to rank the opportunity of mixing with other children, and of not being compelled to grow up half solitary. Mr. Ruskin expounds, in one of his most eloquent chapters, the law of unconscious sacrifice, by which every bough and spray stoops down in this direction, or bends upward in that, to make room for its brother bud or spray, and how the result is a perfection of separate and collective beauty not otherwise attainable. Is there not a like rule almost as invariably illustrated in all nobler, happier types of character? There are few graver misfortunes than to have none near you to give way to, or tenderly consider, and one or two only to look up to and love. You may often meet two people who, in their original material of mind and feeling, stood on very equal terms, and even now you cannot ascribe to the one, as compared with the other, better principles or aims. Yet the difference is immense. The one, suppose, has been all her life, consciously or unconsciously, adapting herself to cheer and to succour to a whole community, however small, of which she makes one, and a host of disinterested perceptions and sympathetic powers of insight have grown strong by use, and become part of her very self. To the other, the same thoughts of solicitude and acts of kindness occur as comparatively a new thing, and begin every time afresh, and though perhaps far less is actually done, the effort and the cost in self-denial are much greater.

These are ideas which it is obviously easy to generalise. If the cares of a household, when lovingly undertaken or shared, carry with them the recompense of a much increased faculty of conferring benefits and lightening burdens, so, too, the friction of mind with mind, in the larger world of general society, is a salutary, nay, an essential discipline, for a vigorous understanding—a mind which is to be thoroughly cultivated, and both intellectually and morally well-balanced. To live all our lives among opinions of one pattern only is almost as bad as to leave our minds so absolutely passive to the ebbing and flowing tide of the day's news, that everything like reflection and sober judgment is drowned. It is even possible to combine both evils. You meet with a man sometimes who is irretrievably injured by having a wife who spoils or a congregation which worships him. He allows himself to estimate the value of his own opinions and suffrage on all subjects, according to the too partial

standard of these private and friendly courts. The consequence in point of character is something like what you see in the plants which are blanched by being grown under inverted flower-pots, like forced rhubarb or sea-kale. In a dish for the table, the flavour is improved by the absence of the harder and more woody fibre. In a man, no immunity from contradiction, and no momentary feeling of self-importance, can make up for an impoverished, etiolated, moral, and intellectual nature—a plant which has grown up without more than a fraction of its proper and ordained portion of light and air, and to which now the breath of every gale which blows seems unjust and unkind.

To return to our starting-point: if plants and trees develop themselves with a tranquil and symmetrical beauty, it may be in the first place because they are only plants and trees, and not men; and in the second place, because they go with the rest of creation to make up a sphere of quieting and soothing influences to which men turn instinctively from the tug and strain of life. We need sometimes to go apart among woods and fields to rest awhile. If we believe in the good fight of faith at all, we soon cease to believe in its being summed up in a single campaign. To every period of life its peculiar conflicts belong. There are growing pains in the world within us as well as in the world without. The condition of spiritual hobbydehoyhood makes no one a more delightful companion either to other people or himself. But if you entertain faith in his principles, and a fair amount of charity towards the man, you may hope that before long he will grow wiser and feel better. Communities as well as individuals pass through their transitional stage, and experience growing pains. It is in this way that our own age is, with some truth, called an age of spiritual discomfort. In proportion as the constituents of a nation's life are manifold and rich, the problem becomes harder how they are to grow simultaneously, and how duly and happily combine. The industrial and the intellectual element, and science and religious faith—how shall these keep step together? The poet whom we have already once quoted breathes a prayer that "mind and soul, according well, may make one music as before." It is the prerogative of poets to believe in "a golden clime" and a golden age. But did mind and soul ever accord more harmoniously and completely than now? Only, perhaps, when either one or both were far feebler than now, or when the total aggregate of intelligent and Christian life was almost infinitely smaller. As the sources and the avenues of knowledge multiply, a daily-increasing number of awakened and active minds are set open. No wonder if "knowledge" and "reverence," the rigour of demonstration and experiment and the sanctities of holy trust and aspiration, should seem for a time adverse or even irreconcilable, even when they are working their way gradually, but surely, to a better and profounder reconciliation than before. Not with any startling transformation, it may be, or a swift rush of life, like a luxuriant and sunny Easter, will the better life of our race evolve and unfold itself; and yet every year brings the day nearer when the earth will, in His own way and time, yield that best increase, and God, even our own God, shall bless us.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

(Continued from page 349.)

their motives for it, he maintained that the general opinion of the country—he meant that impartial and intelligent opinion which really regulated the country—was, that though the choicest members of the working classes should form a part—and no unimportant portion—of the estate of the Commons, they recoiled from and rejected a gross and indiscriminate reduction of the franchise. (Loud cheers.) He went into a long examination of the figures to ascertain what share working men now possessed in the franchise. An alteration in the franchise ought to be conceived in a constitutional spirit, but this bill he denounced as a step towards American institutions, which, however fit for that country, were totally unfit for England.

You would have the rule of mobs in great towns, and demoralised and turbulent multitudes. (Renewed cheers.) If the land in England were to be made like the land in America, that could only be effected after a long struggle, in the course of which the great elements of our civilisation would disappear, and England, from being a first-rate kingdom, would become a third-rate Power.

He gently bantered Mr. Mill on the conflict between his published and spoken opinions, and then adverted to his theory of government for the future:—

We know now what will be the future of this country when that philosophical Cabinet will take its place upon that bench. A poll-tax for England! Such is the basis of your finance; and we know that there are some other measures preparing in the same armoury. A poll-tax for England, combined with a compulsory measure of education and compulsory cleanliness. I say it will

be the admiration of cosmopolitan Europe; but I fear before nine months are passed the whole country will be in a state of insurrection.

He then turned to Mr. Bright, whose great abilities he admired, whose eloquence he often listened to with delight, and recognised his unexampled energy. It was painful to comment upon the conduct of an individual member, but it was not his fault. If he were on the Treasury Bench, where he ought to be, they would fear him no longer. (Cheers.) They would only fear her Majesty's Ministers. (Cheers.)

Some of my friends have spoken with indignation of the manifesto which the member for Birmingham thought fit to publish. My feeling, when I read that letter, was not a feeling of indignation, nor was it one of contempt—nothing of the kind. It was a feeling of pain, of mortification, and disappointment. I felt I had totally misunderstood the character of the individual with whom I appeared to have been so long in communication, which I thought was at least dignified. (Cheers.) I thought, for example, that the member for Birmingham was proud of being a member of the House of Commons—(cheers)—and I confess I thought I saw sometimes with satisfaction that the House of Commons seemed not disinclined to be proud of him. But that he should leave us only to hold us up to public obloquy was to me a pain and mortification—(cheers)—that he should speak of us in a manner utterly deficient in truth and candour, wanting alike in truth and taste, was—I speak it unfeignedly—most painful. He was the last man, knowing what I know of him in this House, that I should have supposed would hold up the House with almost the truculence of a Danton to public reprobation. (Loud cheers.) Sir, it is not for me to vindicate the House of Commons—that is not my proud position—that is the privilege of another person—(loud and continued cheering)—and I must say it was a source to me of astonishment that the leader of the House of Commons, who must have been in that part of the country at the time—I don't know whether he was at the same meeting, but he must have been in that part of the country at the time—with no lack of opportunity, who was attending theatres and making speeches at dinners—it must have been a subject of astonishment that the leader of the House of Commons should not have come forward, and have noticed that address—should not have vindicated the character and the honour of that Assembly of which it ought to be his greatest pride to be the leader—he who should be the champion of our honour and our liberties. (Cheers.)

The Chancellor of the Exchequer at Liverpool, while surrounded by "provincial fanatics," could find time to criticise Mr. Lowe's letter, but none to comment on the letter of the hon. member for Birmingham, although it was an attack upon the character of those of whom he was the leader, and upon the honour of the House of which he ought to have felt proud to be the chief champion. (Loud cheers.) As "the leader of the Tory party," lately assailed by Mr. Bright, Mr. Disraeli vindicated their policy as the opponents of war. He himself had done his best to maintain neutrality in the American conflict while it was a leading member of the Government who, in one of his "pilgrimages of passion," used words which, if they meant anything, meant that the Cabinet was on the point of recognising the Confederate States. (Cheers.) All the measures passed for ameliorating the condition of the working classes during the last thirty years, and to reduce their hours of labour—(cheers)—and to secure to them payment of wages in the current coin of the realm, and to save them from torture and oppression in mines and collieries, and to extend to all their ingenious arts the successful ameliorations which had been introduced into the factories, were passed by the united energies of the Tory party and against the opposition of Mr. Bright. (Cheers.)

My noble friend (Lord Stanley) near me also knows something of the working classes. When he used to pass through the lobby of the old House of Parliament, they and their wives and children would cling to us and ask us to support these measures, upon which their future happiness and prosperity depended. They felt that we were their only friends—("Oh, oh," and laughter)—and they feared the opposition of those who now say that they are the friends of the working classes. (Cheers.)

Mr. Bright was at least open and candid in his opinions, but the great and extreme danger was, that the hon. member for Birmingham, to use a phrase borrowed from the practice of one of our noblest pastimes, had a confederate, and he sat on the Treasury bench. (Opposition cheers.)

The right hon. gentleman, following the example, as he always does, of the hon. member for Birmingham—(laughter)—went down to Liverpool, and, joining in an agitation, expounded his policy, which was founded on American and not on English principles. (Hear, hear.) He said he had put forward a very moderate Reform Bill, which would only introduce 400,000 additional voters, but if his views of the English constitution are the same as mine, that is a very great addition to the estate of the Commons. (Hear, hear.) He observed that this moderate measure was opposed and treated with great obloquy and contempt, and that a noble lord had proposed an amendment the common sense of which I think has been recognised by the country—("Oh, oh," and cheers from the opposition)—for the purpose of defeating the bill. The right hon. gentleman went on to say that notwithstanding the moderation of their measure, 4,500,000 were excluded, "living and breathing men, citizens like ourselves, payers of taxes like ourselves, bound to every civil duty like ourselves, and having interest in the common welfare of the community like ourselves." (Ironical cheering.) Now, I don't object to your having American principles—("Oh, oh,")—only let us clearly understand what you mean. (Hear, hear.) There is only one interpretation I can put upon the right hon. gentleman's speech, and that is that these four and a half millions have as much right to form a part of the constituent body as the 400,000 to whom he proposes to give the franchise. (Cheers.) Then we all remember the speech of the right hon. gentleman a year and a half ago, which confused the House and

perplexed and agitated the country, and in which he based the franchise on the rights of man. (Laughter and cheers.) He afterwards published that speech with an explanatory preface which no one could understand—(a laugh)—and the thing passed off. He published the preface to please his colleagues, but he never changed his opinions, and when he went to Liverpool he again expressed his belief and opinion that the suffrage was a moral right and ought to be so considered. (Hear, hear.) I will read another passage on this subject, the words of one of the wisest men that ever sat in this House—Sir George Lewis. He said, "You may talk of the rudeness of monarchical government, but I defy you to point out anything in monarchy so irrational as counting votes instead of weighing them—of making a decision not on the knowledge and ability or fitness of the judges, but on their numbers." These were wise words. Sir George Lewis was a great loss to this country, and a greater loss to the House of Commons. He would not have built up a constituency on the rights of man; he would not have counselled the Whig party to reconstruct our institutions on an American model. It is because I wish to avert from this country these calamities that I shall vote for the amendment of the noble lord. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Mr. Disraeli resumed his seat at five minutes past one o'clock, having spoken for two hours and forty minutes.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER then rose, and was received with cheers, again and again repeated. He commenced by saying that they now knew, from an authoritative source, that a bill which, in a country with five million male adults—"Oh, oh!" "Hear, hear," and cries of "Order."—Mr. Gladstone: "Am I to be permitted to proceed?"—"Hear, hear," and renewed cries of "Order"—a bill which proposed to add to a limited constituency 200,000 of the middle and 200,000 of the working classes, was in the judgment of the leader of the Tory party a bill to reconstruct our institutions on American principles. (Cheers.) With regard to Lord Palmerston, who had been so often alluded to as the enemy of reform, he could say that his lordship, shortly before his death, remarked to one of his colleagues that he thought it would be right for the Government, within a limited time, to introduce another Reform Bill. (Hear, hear.) So much for the honour of Lord Palmerston, which he confessed did not appear to him to have been in very judicious hands during the chief part of that debate. (Cheers.) It was the opinion of the Cabinet that no step should be taken in regard to Reform until the country pronounced in its favour, and it was the feeling evinced at the last election on that subject which eventually led to the proposing of the present bill. He denied, though he admitted that in certain circumstances it would have been fully justified, that the Government had consulted or been influenced by Mr. Bright in determining on bringing on a Reform Bill, and its provisions and its conduct were their own. He vindicated himself from the charges which had been made against him of delivering inflammatory speeches in the provinces, and inflammatory sentences in regard to the working classes in the House. In dealing with Mr. Lowe's last speech, he denied that when he spoke of "knowing with whom he had to deal," he was alluding to the House.

I was alluding to "certain deformed and crooked little men," amongst whom my right hon. friend himself stands the foremost. (Loud cheers and laughter.) We have to deal with him. (Hear, hear.) He is opposed to the borough franchise, and to reform in any shape and form. But he will not consent to oppose this bill on the second reading; he votes for an amendment which says that to this bill you are required to add another bad bill. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) I think, therefore, I was justified in saying to my right hon. friend, "We know with whom we have to deal." We are contending for a reduction of the franchise; we are opposed by open as well as concealed antagonists; we wish to take off the concealment; and to let the people of England know with whom they have to deal. (Loud cheers.)

What the Government was contending for was the extension of the franchise in principle without absolute reference to details. If those who had general confidence in the Government thought they had a latent and sinister purpose on the question of redistribution they should not propose such an amendment as had been put forward, but put them out of office by the most direct means. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Disraeli, secure in the recollection of his own consistency—(great laughter and cheers)—had taunted him with the errors of his boyhood.

The only difference between us is that having these opinions I moved the Debating Society in Oxford to express them in the clearest, plainest, most forcible, downright English—(cheers)—while the right hon. gentleman is obliged to skulk under the cover of an amendment like this. (Prolonged cheering.) I envy him not one particle of the polemical advantage he has gained by his discreet reference to the proceedings of the Oxford Union Debating Society. (Cheers.)

His position in regard to the Liberal party was in all points the opposite of Earl Russell's.

I have none of the claims he possesses. I came among you an outcast from those with whom I associated, driven from them by the slow and resistless force of conviction. I came among you, to make use of the legal phraseology, in *pauperis forma*. I had nothing to offer you but faithful and honourable service. (Prolonged cheers.) You received me with kindness, indulgence, generosity, and I may even say with some measure of confidence—(loud cheers)—and the relation between us is this—that you never can be my debtors, but that I must for ever be in your debt.

The gravamen of the charge against the Government was that they had introduced a Franchise Bill only, and this course, he contended, had been taken by the Government simply as a matter of convenience, and

with a view to passing a Reform Bill with more facility, and their concession in regard to the Redistribution Bill had been prompted solely by deference to the views of some of their supporters whose views demanded their respect. He repudiated energetically the notion that they had any desire to entrap the House into passing a measure by halves which they would not have passed as a whole. In the opinion of the Government the reduction of the franchise was the primary object; with a good franchise, redistribution was a secondary matter. That was the feeling of candidates at the last election, as shown by their election addresses. Lord Stanley's "high" arguments were inconsistent with his own course as a member of the Conservative Government of 1859, when they introduced a Reform Bill.

The noble lord put in fifteen seats, and having thus satisfied himself, he appended certain scales of the borough and county franchise, and then said, "Though we give you only fifteen seats now, it is because we can't do more at present; but if you look at the borough and county franchise, you will see that by-and-bye you can redistribute as much as you like." (Loud cheers.) Having by this bill thrown the boundaries into the future, and having left the question of redistribution, in a great measure, to settle itself, the noble lord now comes down and delivers this admirable speech—admirable except for the speaker—(cheers)—on the intolerable inconvenience of making any separation. (Renewed cheers.)

With regard to the course of the Government, he denied that they had ever suggested that the Redistribution Bill should be postponed till another year: they had simply declined to go on with it until the Franchise Bill was secure, which might occur at any stage. Their object was to draw a distinction between those who supported and those who objected to the reduction of the franchise. With those who had a common design with themselves they would not be disposed to quarrel on a matter of detail, nor were they asking the House to commit itself on any detail of the bill—not even on the particular limit of the franchise, though from the figure they had fixed they could not themselves depart. The point to be decided now was the reduction of the franchise.

The point we are to decide to-night is whether the House will, by a majority, vote for the second reading of this bill—that is to say, for the reduction of the franchise in counties, and especially in towns. That is the question. ("No, no," and cheers.) It may not be the question in the estimation of the hon. gentleman; but it seems not improper that those who move the second reading of a bill should at any rate put the House in possession of what they believe to be the intention of the Government. (Hear.) Have we reason for asking that this bill should be read a second time? I think we have very sound reasons for asking it. They are these. We gave notice that we would introduce a measure of reform, and we produced the bill. We were saluted by my noble friend with a hostile motion concerted with the Opposition party. ("No, no," and "Hear, hear.") On a former occasion I endeavoured to do justice to the moderation of my noble friend's character. I wish now to bear testimony to the moderation and mildness of his language, but the moderation and mildness of his language cannot blind Government to the severity of his act. He spoke of his being a follower of Earl Russell, but the amendment coming from my noble friend has been concerted with the party opposite. [An hon. member: I don't believe it was. (Much laughter.)] I am bound to say that I don't recognise the hon. member as the leader of the party opposite. I recognise the right hon. gentleman the member for Bucks as filling the position, and no one else. (Hear, hear.)

Lord Grosvenor was opposed to the reduction of the borough franchise, and had avowed it; but yet he asked for a Seats Bill with a Franchise Bill. If he got a moderate Seats Bill, would he vote for a Franchise Bill? (Cheers.) They wished for an extension of the franchise because it was a good in itself, and because they thought it would improve the institutions of the country. He thought the influence of separate classes was too strong and pure public interest too weak. He referred specially to his own department. There was a demand for reform. He had counted up the public meetings. (An Opposition member: "Got up.") The meetings are got up. Did they get up meetings against? (Cheers.) It would then be seen whether it was an easy matter to get an expression of public sentiment on which to found their operations. Between the 11th and the 17th of April there were 187 such petitions, besides 500,000 or 600,000 signatures from individuals in favour of this bill. (Cheers.) They were not going to import American principles. It was not an American principle to reduce the borough franchise. It was a return to old English principle, a restoring of the state of things that subsisted before and ought to subside again. He then stated facts to disprove the alleged absorption of the working classes into the franchise, and expressed his belief that they were not represented in that House either according to their numbers, their wealth, their intelligence, their virtue, or their loyalty. Mr. Lowe's prophecies of the ruin of the British constitution were so beautiful and forcible that they might be selected by teachers at colleges and schools as exercises for their pupils, and his right hon. friend would have his reward in the knowledge—*ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias*. (Cheers and laughter.) Mr. Lowe said they know nothing about the labouring classes. Was not one single word a sufficient reply, and that word was Lancashire, associated with the sufferings of the last four years, so painful and bitter, but so nobly and gloriously borne? (Cheers.) Mr. Gladstone then vigorously described the diversity of opinion and self-contradiction among the opponents of the bill—a party, gathering for a chance purpose, with no bond of cohesion, with no

declared principle, with no avowed intention—meaning one thing and saying another thing—(cheers)—not saying the thing which the most important persons in it deeply feel, but which they would wish to avoid. That was the state of things among them now that they had come together.

Sir, this debate must come to an end. (Cheers.) I cannot resent the warmth with which that last expression of mine has been re-echoed. (A laugh.) My apologies to the House are sincere, and I feel deeply indebted, not to this side of the House only, but to hon. gentlemen opposite, for the patience with which they have heard me. But a very few words more, and I have done. May I say to hon. gentlemen opposite, as some of them have addressed advice to gentlemen on this side of the House, "Will you not consider before you embark in this new crusade whether the results of the others in which you have engaged have been so satisfactory?" Great battles you have fought, and fought them manfully. The battle of maintaining civil disabilities on account of religious belief, the battle of resisting the first Reform Act, the battle of Protection, all these great battles have been fought by the great party that I see opposite; and, as to some of them, I admit my own share of the responsibility. But have their results been such as that you should be disposed to renew these attacks again? Certainly those who sit on this side have no reason or title to find fault. The effect of your course has been to give them for five out of six, or for six out of seven years the conduct and management of public affairs. The effect has been to lower, to reduce, and contract your just influence in the country, and to abridge your share in the administration of the Government. It is good for the public interest that you should be strong; but if you are to be strong, you can only be so by showing, as well as the kindness and the personal generosity which I am sure you feel towards the people, a public trust and confidence in them. What I now say can hardly be said with an evil motive. But, Sir, we are assailed; this bill is in a state of crisis and of peril, and the Government along with it. We stand or fall with it, as has been declared by my noble friend. (Cheers.) We stand with it now; we may fall with it a short time hence, and if we do we shall rise with it hereafter. (Great cheering.) I shall not attempt to measure with precision the forces that are to be arrayed in the coming struggle. Perhaps the great division of to-night is not the last that must take place in the struggle. You may possibly succeed at some point of the contest. You may drive us from our seats. You may bury the bill that we have introduced; but for its epitaph we will write upon its gravestone this line, with certain confidence in its fulfilment—

Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.

(Cheers.) You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side. (Cheers.) The great social forces which move on in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb—those great social forces are against you; they are marshalled on our side, and the banner which we now carry, though perhaps at some moment it may droop over our sinking heads, yet it soon again will float in the eye of heaven, and it will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the three kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy, but to a certain and to a not distant victory. (The right hon. gentleman resumed his seat amid loud and long-continued cheering.)

The SPEAKER then put the question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question," when there was a vociferous shout of "Aye," and "No."

The House divided, when the result was as follows:—

For the amendment ...	313
For the second reading ...	318

Majority ... 5

The announcement of the number for the amendment was received with loud cheers by those on the Ministerial side of the House, but when the number for the second reading was declared the Opposition raised a deafening shout, and with waving of hats, they cheered again and again. The cheer was re-echoed by the members seated in the galleries, and the strangers rose in a body despite all rule and order.

When silence was restored, The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER rose and said,—"Sir, I propose to fix the Committee for Monday, and then to state the order of business. (Renewed cheering.)"

The orders of the day were then disposed of, and the House adjourned at twenty minutes to four o'clock.

OATHS.

On Monday, in answer to Mr. Maguire, Mr. C. FORTESCUE said that no bill was to be introduced establishing a uniform oath to be taken by all persons accepting municipal or other offices in Ireland, but a commission was about to issue to inquire into the subject of all oaths.

Sir G. GREY, in consequence of the Parliamentary Oaths Bill having received the Royal assent, moved that members may take and subscribe the oath at any time during the sitting of the House, before the orders of the day and notices of motion have been entered upon, or after they have been disposed of, but no debate or business shall be interrupted for that purpose, which was agreed to. He also moved that the standing order of the 15th August, 1860, relative to the swearing of persons professing the Jewish religion, be read and repealed, which was agreed to.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said that after such a division as had taken place on Saturday morning it was necessary to state that her Majesty's Government had seen nothing in that division to induce them to halt in their purpose of endeavouring to carry a measure for the amendment of the representation of the people. (Loud cheers.) One moiety

of the House expressed its willingness to accept the course taken by the Government; while the other moiety was of opinion that the whole intention of the Government in regard to the distribution of seats should be before the House; so that the whole House was agreed to take into consideration the subject of reform when the whole question was before them. The Government would therefore produce their plan for the redistribution of seats on Monday next, by bringing in a bill on that subject. The motion for the committee on the Franchise Bill would also stand for that day; not, however, with a view of actually proceeding with it on that day. On Thursday he should bring forward his financial statement. On Thursday also he would make a statement with regard to his intentions on the subject of Church-rates.

In answer to Mr. H. J. Baillie, Mr. Whiteside, Sir L. Palk, and Sir J. Fergusson, the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said he could not state whether the Redistribution and Franchise Bills would go on together or not until the introduction of the Redistribution of Seats Bill. The measure with regard to Ireland would be a complete one. The Government would not attempt to prevent the House from duly considering the Redistribution Bill before going into committee on the Franchise Bill. The Reform Bill for Scotland would be introduced on Monday.

Mr. BOUVREIN was of opinion that the course taken by her Majesty's Government was a right and proper one, for all the objects sought by the amendment on the Franchise Bill had been attained, and the way was clear for a settlement of the question of reform. He had voted with the Government because he believed that if they had been defeated, the settlement of that question would have been indefinitely postponed. He urged that if the measure of the Government on the Redistribution of Seats was sufficiently satisfactory to the country party, some arrangement might be come to by both sides of the House, by which the subject of reform might be settled.

Mr. H. J. BAILLIE pointed out that there was a redistribution of seats required in Scotland.

Mr. WHITE was of opinion that when the Government was in such a miserable majority they would have resigned. He wished to know whether if the House should hereafter increase the amount of the borough franchise, the Government would stand or fall by it.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said that the Government would stand as long as the bill stood. He did not intend to convey any intimation with regard to anything which might occur in committee.

Captain VIVIAN urged that at this opportunity efforts should be made to settle the question of reform.

CHURCH-RATES ABOLITION BILL.

Lord J. MANNERS wished to call the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the fact that the day for going into committee upon this bill had been fixed for the Wednesday succeeding the day fixed by the right hon. gentleman for laying the new clauses proposed by the Government before the House. It was utterly impossible for the country to make up its mind on the subject of these amendments in so short a time.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I beg to explain that I fully agree with what the noble lord has stated. I promised that I would state on Thursday what the Government would or would not do in this matter. Nothing would be so objectionable as that we should not give all persons both inside and outside of the House time to consider the clauses proposed to be introduced; I will, therefore, intercede with the hon. gentleman and endeavour to arrive at some arrangement to secure the object of the noble lord. (Hear.)

In answer to Mr. Bentinck, Mr. COWPER said that twelve architects had been selected to compete for the design for the new buildings about to be erected as additions to the National Gallery.

The House then went into committee on the Civil Service Estimates, and a few votes were granted.

LANDLORD AND TENANT IN IRELAND.

Mr. C. FORTESCUE, in moving for leave to introduce a bill to amend the law of landlord and tenant in Ireland, after a brief retrospect of former legislation, and pointing out the differences between England and Ireland which rendered special legislation necessary, proceeded to explain the reasons why Mr. Cardwell's Act of 1860 had failed. He then described the changes which it was proposed to make in that act, relieving it from the over-careful precautions and the numerous applications to courts of law which impeded its operation. The bill would give compensation to tenants (in the absence of a contract or a lease for thirty-one years) for improvements made without the consent of the landlords to the extent of the increased letting value of land, but with a limitation of 5l. per acre, and, in point of time, with a limitation of forty-one years for buildings and thirty-one years for other improvements. The amount would be fixed by a valuator appointed by the Commissioners of Public Works, with an appeal to the chairman of Quarter Sessions.

Lord NAAS pointed out that last August Mr. Cardwell and Sir R. Peel, then Irish Secretary, had supported a proposal in a select committee that compensation should not be given for improvements made without the consent of the landlord, and asked the reason of the change. The effect of the bill would be that landlords would compel their tenants to enter into written contracts not to avail themselves of this act, but he did not believe it would pass.

Colonel GREVILLE accepted the bill as a measure of justice. The bill was criticised with some sharpness

by Mr. Whiteside, Mr. George, and Lord C. Hamilton, and supported by Mr. Pim, Mr. Synan, and Mr. Sullivan, and was then brought in and read a first time.

EDINBURGH ANNUITY-TAX.

Mr. M'LAREN moved for a select committee to inquire into the operation of the Edinburgh Annuity Tax Abolition Act, 1860, and the Canongate Annuity Tax Act, and to report their opinion thereon to the House. The LORD ADVOCATE, while assenting to the motion, was not to be understood as consenting to open up the arrangements already come to in reference to this matter. The motion was then agreed to.

The House adjourned at five minutes before two o'clock.

THE LAST NIGHT OF THE DEBATE.

OUTSIDE THE HOUSE.—As early as two o'clock on Friday morning, when members were leaving the House after the long debate so ably opened by Mr. Lowe, the entrance to Westminster Hall was besieged by a crowd of dummies awaiting admittance to St. Stephen's Hall, where they might take up their places until relieved sometime in the afternoon by their employers. At ten o'clock in the morning the benches were occupied by a much larger number of persons than the Strangers' Gallery can possibly accommodate, and more were arriving. The crowd thus gathered together was of the most curious description. The halt and maimed were largely represented, while the appearance of some of the night-long waiters was so unfavourable as to suggest that their employers had done the public good service by withdrawing them from the streets of London for the time being. It was pitiable, however, to see so many children engaged in this weary task, and as they lay about the benches throughout the morning, apparently exhausted by heat and fatigue, there was but one opinion amongst passers-by as to the cruelty of employing them for such a purpose. By three o'clock a large number of the dummies had given up their seats to those whom they had been representing, and a crowd had already begun to assemble at the entrance to Westminster Hall, and in the hall itself, hopeless of getting admittance to the House, but anxious to see the members enter. Before five o'clock this crowd had swelled to an extent which far exceeded anything witnessed on the previous nights of the debate, and the various members as they arrived had to encounter the scrutiny of hundreds of eyes engaged in the search for celebrities. Lord Milton, still looking pale from his recent accident, was one of the first to be noticed by the crowd as he drove down in an open carriage. Directly afterwards Mr. Goschen, walking down with two of his colleagues, was recognised, and greeted with a hearty cheer. Almost at the same moment Lord Elcho came up in a hansom, but he alighted at some distance from the crowd, and passed in by a side door without being noticed. Mr. Fawcett, leaning on the arm of the youth who has long been his faithful companion, received a welcome from the spectators that was almost enthusiastic, but the blind professor had scarcely passed into the hall, when all eyes were turned to a barouche in which Mr. Disraeli was sitting beside his wife. A mingled storm of cheers and hisses was raised as he alighted, but by neither was his equanimity in any degree ruffled. A somewhat curious incident followed. Mr. Brand, coming up in a hansom, was received with a degree of warmth by the spectators of all classes to which he was by no means accustomed. A little while longer the crowd waited patiently under the hot sun, and then the event of the evening took place. The line of spectators by this time extended up to Parliament-street, and from the further end a ringing cheer, eagerly caught up, announced the arrival of the hero of the day—Mr. Gladstone—who drove down in an open carriage, Mrs. Gladstone sitting beside him. Like Mr. Disraeli, the Chancellor of the Exchequer "came up smiling," and he entered the House amid the loud and enthusiastic cheering of the great crowd which had witnessed his arrival, and which very soon afterwards dispersed.—*Leeds Mercury.*

THE TWO LEADERS.—At length Mr. King yielded, and at once Mr. Disraeli, who had been preparing himself, sprang to his feet, literally, and stood at the table, his own side cheering furiously. He spoke at first with affected moderation. He seemed to be under restraint. The words flowed easily enough, but he uttered them slowly, and evidently kept his tongue under control. His manner was not unconvincing. It was rather stately and dignified, and he seemed conscious that he was leading a party. As soon as it was known that he was "up," the House filled. Very soon it was full. A close column stood below the bar. The gangways were all full, and one member sat cross-legged Turkish fashion at the bottom of one. But the early part of Mr. Disraeli's speech was dull, and some of his own side talked all through that part. His ear is fine. He seems to catch the faintest sound of disapproval or challenge, and has a curious habit of dropping his voice from the oratorical to the colloquial pitch as he ejaculates "Eh!" Once Mr. Whiteside uttered a maladroitness "Heer, hear," and it was amusing to witness the rapidity with which Mr. Disraeli took up the challenge, and the good-humoured malice with which Mr. Gladstone pointed out the offender. Mr. Disraeli was not really effective until his shoulders rose and his voice increased in volume as he turned to attack Mr. Bright. His laboured attack on Mr. Gladstone for what he did in an Oxford Debating Society

was really a failure, and one could see how his own side even—except the stupid few—derided it. But they sustained him when he fell upon Mr. Bright. Then he gave utterance to their bitterest animosities. Mr. Bright listened with a smile upon his face, and throughout the whole speech Mr. Gladstone's countenance wore a serene and almost happy expression, as if he had not the least apprehension of his antagonist. Mr. Disraeli, as usual, was not really effective except when he was sneering and ridiculing his opponents, or parading Mr. Lowe's "Bogies" before the House. The object of the vindication of the House, the attack on Mr. Bright, the declaration that he was "the leader of the Tory party," of which Mr. Gladstone subsequently made such magnificent use, was plainly to make political capital for himself, and try to get back into the good graces of his party. But even Sir Edward Lytton, sitting next him, and leaning forward with his hand to his ear, laughed when getting on the high horse, deepening his tones and thickening his enunciation—a very curious habit—he uttered his gloomy prediction about the future absence of the "spell of tradition" of statesmanship, genius, and the like, and said there would be a "herd of selfish mediocrities, incapable of anything but mischief, and that mischief devised and regulated by the wretched demagogue of the hour." Well might "Pelham" smile, and think his friend "Vivian Grey" was going too far. Mr. Gladstone was a great contrast to Mr. Disraeli—he was in earnest for noble principles. His voice was fine and round, and he modulated it with skill. His language was flowing and precise, for he is a born orator. He was well supported by his own side, and I am bound to say that when some cut behind the front Opposition bench tried to interrupt him, Mr. Disraeli, who does not like that sort of thing, interfered, and turning round menacingly, waived his hand. Mr. Gladstone effectively vindicated Mr. Bright. He eloquently vindicated himself from Mr. Lowe's unwarrantable charge that he had tried to intimidate the House. He referred most felicitously to his own advent among the Liberal party, and he exposed the pettiness of Mr. Disraeli—secure in the recollections of his own consistency—in referring to the errors of his boyhood. In cutting tones he spoke of "the leader of the Tory party," and when at the close, lowering his voice, he asked the Opposition if they were prepared to enter on another crusade, to fight another battle against time and the people, when he reminded them of their failures, and said, "We stand or fall with the bill—we stand with it now, we may fall with it a short time hence, and if we do we shall rise with it hereafter," the effect of that noble burst of oratory was instant and decisive. Nothing could be finer than the whole speech, and when he closed his splendid peroration the cheers rose and rolled, and rose and rolled again.—*Ibid.*

LAST SCENE OF ALL.—Mr. Gladstone spoke till ten minutes past three, and on resuming his seat, amid the most prolonged cheers, was as pale, and seemed almost as much exhausted, as though on the point of fainting. When at last the applause ceased, the excitement became intense, though silence was most rigidly preserved while the Speaker rose, and rather hastily read over the word of Lord Grosvenor's amendment, to which there was the usual alternately tumultuous reply of "Ayes" and "Noes." The two-minute sand-glass was then turned, and the division bells rang all over the House till the last and most distant of the straggling members were brought within the bar. At the same time the Speaker's Gallery and all the parts which are technically supposed to be in the House were cleared of strangers, the Duke of Cambridge being, among others, ejected, in accordance with old custom, which allows none but members to be actually within the precincts or body of the House itself while a division is being taken. The question was then again put, and with the same uproarious result of negatives and affirmatives, and when the last of these shouts had died away the Speaker said, "Ayes to the right and Noes to the left," and the House began to divide. The great crowd of members filed out very slowly into their respective lobbies, one by one, and the whole process of taking the division occupied nearly twenty minutes. The four tellers—Lord Grosvenor and Lord Stanley for the Opposition, and Mr. Brand and Mr. W. P. Adam for the Government—were the last to leave the House, and almost immediately after their departure both parties began to return, much more rapidly than they had quitted. Before half had taken their seats it was known through the efforts of an enthusiastic Conservative, who had been at the pains to count the members, that no less a number than 315 would vote for the amendment, and against the bill. The greatest anxiety was everywhere evinced to find out what the number of Government supporters would be, but nothing transpired on this subject till the returns were actually read in the House. As soon as the members had taken their places the tellers gave their returns to the Clerk of the House, who, after having read them, called the tellers forward, who came up to the chair with the three usual deep reverences. According to usual custom the returns were handed to the whipper-in of the party who has the majority, and when the papers were placed in the hands of Mr. Brand the cheering of the Government members was tremendous. An almost complete silence, however, fell upon them when the numbers were read and the majority was seen to be so small as to make the decision a virtual defeat of the Government measure. On the other hand, the excitement and enthusiasm of the Opposition seemed to know no bounds, and such a scene ensued of waving hats and handkerchiefs and loud cheering as has probably seldom been witnessed on

any division in the House of Commons. Conspicuous also on the Government side were the cheers of the Liberal members who had opposed the bill, and who vied in their manifestations of delight with the members of the Opposition. The brief sentence with which Mr. Gladstone, when silence was at last restored, announced his intention of fixing the course of public business this evening, was hailed with almost similar cheers, and was evidently taken by the Opposition as implying that some modification or reconsideration of the Franchise Bill might then be submitted to the House. In a minute afterwards all hurried to get away, and the members streamed out into Palace-yard, where, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, a large crowd was collected. These people cheered with the most perfect impartiality the leaders of both parties. Not a symptom of angry feeling seemed to be manifested towards anyone.—*Times.*

ANALYSIS OF THE DIVISION LIST ON THE REFORM BILL.

The analysis of the division list gives the following results:—

VOTED FOR GOVERNMENT.			
Liberals	...	...	318
Conservatives	...	...	2-320
(Conservatives.)			
Robert J. Harvey	Sir G. Bowyer.		
VOTED AGAINST GOVERNMENT.			
Conservatives	...	...	282
Liberals	...	...	33-315
(Liberals.)			
Agar-Ellis, Hon. L.	Kilkenny County		
Andover, Viscount	Malmesbury		
Anson, Hon. Major	Lichfield		
Baring, H. B.	Marlborough		
Beaumont, W. B.	Northumberland		
Bruce, Lord E.	Marlborough		
Bulkeley, Sir R.	Anglesea		
Brecknock, Earl of	Brecon		
Carrington, Hon. C.	Wyocombe		
Clinton, Lord Arthur	Newark		
Crosland, Colonel	Huddersfield		
Doulton, Frederick	Lambeth		
Duff, Robert W.	Banffshire		
Dunkellin, Lord	Galway County		
Elcho, Lord	Haddingtonshire		
Fitzwilliam, Hon. C.	Malton		
Gregory, W. H.	Galway		
Grosvenor, Earl	Chester		
Grosvenor, Lord R.	Flintshire		
Heathcote, Hon. G.	Rutlandshire		
Horsman, Rt. Hon. E.	Stroud		
Laing, Samuel	Wick		
Lowe, Rt. Hon. R.	Calne		
Mackie, J.	Kirkcubrightshire		
M'Kenna, J. N.	Youghal		
Mainwaring, T.	Denbigh		
Marsh, M. H.	Salisbury		
Packe, Colonel	South Lincolnshire		
Pim, Jonathan	Dublin City		
Saunderson, E.	Cavan County		
Stock, Osborne	Carlisle		
Tomlins, George	Shrewsbury		
Tracy, Hon. C. H.	Montgomery		
PAIRED FOR GOVERNMENT.			
Liberal (J. A. Roebuck)	...	...	1
PAIRED AGAINST.			
Conservative (M. Treherne)	...	...	1
ABSENT LIBERALS.			
Mr. E. Corbally, A. Greville, A. Matheson, A. S. Finlay, Sir T. Lloyd, George Traill	...	...	6
ABSENT CONSERVATIVES.			
Lord Hotham, Charles H. Mills, Russell Gurney	...	...	3
VACANT.			
Totnes, 1; Reigate, 1; Helston, 1; North Devon, 1; Nottingham, 2; Bridgewater, 1; Lancaster, 2; Windsor, 2	...	...	11
The Speaker	...	...	1
			658

From this it will be seen that almost for the first time in the history of great Parliamentary and party contests the pairing for and against the bill only amounted to one on each side—Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Treherne. There were six Liberal absentees, and nominally three absentee Conservatives. Virtually, however, the latter number is reduced to one—Lord Hotham, who was too unwell to attend. Mr. Russell Gurney was away on the Jamaica Commission. Mr. Mills, the Conservative member for Northallerton, had been unseated on Friday for bribery; yet, as the fact had not been officially reported to the House, this gentleman had a legal right to vote, though with great good taste he abstained from so doing. Of the six absentees on the side of the Government, one, Mr. Finlay, is on his way home from Australia; Sir Thomas Lloyd is ill from a fall from his horse, and Mr. Traill is also severely ill. Mr. Corbally is in Ireland, suffering from the very recent loss of a dear relative; and Mr. Greville and Mr. Matheson simply abstained from voting either way. Such was the division on the Reform Bill of 1866.

ELECTION COMMITTEES.—Since our last, Mr. Labouchere and Sir H. Hoare (Windsor), and Mr. Mills (Northallerton), have been unseated. The petition against Mr. W. H. Leatham (Huddersfield) has failed. Mr. Samuelson (Banbury), petitioned against on the ground that he is an alien, is declared duly elected. Mr. Hennessy claimed the seat for King's County, on the ground that he had a majority against Sir Patrick O'Brien, the poll-books being wrongly cast up. The committee, after four days investigation have decided that Sir Patrick was duly elected. Mr. Kinglake is declared to have been duly elected for Bridgewater.

FELLOWS OF COLLEGES DECLARATION BILL.

DIVISION LIST.

The motion for going into committee on this bill was carried by 208 to 186. The following is the list of the members who voted:—

MAJORITY—AYES, 208.

Adland, T. D.	Foster, W. O.	Morris, M.
Adam, W. P.	Fortescue, C. P.	Morrison, W.
Agar-Ellis, Hon.	Gaselee, Sergeant	Murphy, N. D.
Agnew, Sir A.	Gaskell, J. M.	Neale, O.
Allen, W. S.	Gilpin, C.	Nicol, J. D.
Andover, Viscount	Glyn, G. G.	Norwood, C. M.
Anstruther, Sir R.	Glyn, G. C.	Ogilvy, Sir J.
Antrobus, E.	Goldsmid, Sir F.	Oliphant, L.
Armstrong, R.	Goldsmid, J.	O'Loghlen, Sir C. M.
Ayrton, A. S.	Goschen, G. J.	Onslow, G.
Aytoun, R. S.	Gower, F. L.	Otway, A.
Bagwell, J.	Gregory, W. H.	Packe, Colonel
Baines, E.	Gray, Sir J.	Padmore, R.
Barclay, A. C.	Gridley, Captain	Pease, J. W.
Baring, T. G.	Grosvenor, Capt.	Peel, A.
Barron, Sir H. W.	Hadfield, G.	Pelham, Lord
Barry, C. B.	Hanbury, R.	Phillips, R. N.
Bass, A.	Hardcastle, J. A.	Pim, J.
Bass, M.	Harris, J. D.	Platt, J.
Baxter, W.	Hay, Lord J.	Portman, W. H. B.
Basley, T.	Hay, Lord W.	Potter, E.
Beaumont, W. B.	Hayter, Captain	Potter, T. B.
Brady, Dr.	Headlam, T. E.	Power, Sir J.
Brand, H.	Henderson, J.	Price, R. G.
Brecknock, Earl of	Heneage, E.	Price, W. F.
Bright, J.	Henley, Lord	Rawlinson, Sir H.
Brown, Lord J.	Hibbert, J.	Reardon, D. J.
Bruce, Lord O.	Hoare, Sir H. A.	Rebow, J. G.
Bruce, H. A.	Hodgkinson, G.	Robartes, T.
Buxton, C.	Hodgson, K. D.	Rotheschild, M.
Buxton, Sir T. F.	Holden, I.	Russell, A.
Calthorpe, F. H. W. G.	Holland, E.	Russell, H.
Candlish, J.	Howard, C. W. G.	Salomons, Adl.
Cavendish, Lord E.	Hughes, W. B.	Samuelson, B.
Cavendish, Lord F.	Hust, Sir W.	Scholefield, W.
Cavendish, Lord G.	Jackson, W.	Seymour, A.
Chambers, T.	James, E.	Seymour, H. D.
Cheetham, J.	Jervoise, Sir J. C.	Shafto, R. D.
Oliver, J.	Kearley, Captain	Sheridan, H. B.
Clinton, Lord E.	King, F. J. L.	Sheridan, R. H.
Clive, G.	Kinglake, J. A.	Simeon, Sir J.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.	Kingscote, Col.	Smith, J. B.
Collier, Sir R. P.	Knatchbull-Hugues-	Smollett, P. B.
Colthurst, Sir G. C.	sen, E.	Spicer, A.
Cowen, J.	Laing, S.	Stapledon, W.
Cowper, H. F.	Lamont, J.	Staniland, M.
Craufurd, E. H. J.	Lawrence, W.	Stanfield, J.
Davey, R.	Lawson, J.	Steel, J.
Dawson, Capt. V.	Leatham, W. H.	Stone, W. H.
Denman, Hon. G.	Leeman, G.	Sullivan, E.
Dent, J. D.	Lefevre, G. J.	Taylor, P. A.
Dering, Sir E. C.	Lewis, H.	Torrens, W. T.
Dilke, Sir W.	Locke, J.	Tracy, C. B.
Dillon, J.	Lusk, Alderman	Trevelyan, G. O.
Duff, M. E. G.	Mackie, J.	Vivian, H. H.
Dundas, Sir D.	Mackinnon, W. A.	Vivian, Captain
Dunkellin, Lord	M'Lagan, P.	Warner, E.
Dunlop, A.	M'Laren, D.	Weguelin, T. M.
Ellis, E.	Maguire, J. F.	Whalley, G. H.
Erskine, Admiral	Mainwaring, T.	Whitman, J.
Evans, T. W.	Marjoribanks, D.	Whitbread, S.
Ewart, W.	Marshall, W.	Wickham, H. W.
Ewing, H. E.	Martin, C. W.	Winnington, Sir T.
Fawcett, H.	Martin, P. W.	Woods, H.
Fildes, J.	Mill, J. S.	Wynne, W. R. M.
Fitzpatrick, J. W.	Miller, W.	Wyvill, M.
Fitzwilliam, C. W.	Mills, J. R.	Young, R.
Foley, H. W.	Milton, Viscount	
Foljamba, F. J. S.	Mitchell, A.	
Forster, C.	Monk, C. J.	
Forster, W. E.	More, R. J.	

MINORITY—NOES, 186.

Adderley, C.	Forde, C. B.	Monsell, Hon. W.
Arkwright, R.	Forester, Gen.	Montagu, Lord R.
Bagnall, C.	French, Col.	Montgomery, Sir G.
Baillie, H. J.	Gallway, Sir W. P.	Morgan, O.
Baring, Hon. A. H.	Galway, Viscount	Mowbray, J. R.
Barnett, H.	George, J.	Neeld, Sir J.
Barrow, W. H.	Gilpin, C.	Neville-Grenville, R.
Bartelot, Colonel	Goddard, A. L.	Newdegate, C. M.
Bateson, Sir T.	Goldney, G.	Noel, Hon. G. J.
Bathurst, A. A.	Goodson, J.	North, Colonel
Beach, Sir M. H.	Gore, J. R. O.	O'Neill, E.
Beach, W. W. B.	Gore, W. R.	Packe, C. W.
Beecroft, G. S.	Gorst, J. E.	Page, A. H.
Bentinck, G. C.	Graves, S. R.	Pakington, Sir J.
Beynon, R.	Grey, Lieut-Col.	Parker, Major W.
Beresford, Captain	Grey, Hon. T. D.	Percey, Major-Gen.
Bernard, Col. H. B.	Griffith, C. D.	Powell, F. S.
Booth, Sir R. G.	Guinness, B. L.	Read, O. S.
Bourne, Col.	Hamilton, Lord C.	Repton, G. W. J.
Bridges, Sir B.	Hamilton, I. T.	Robertson, P. F.
Bromley, W.	Hamilton, Viscount	Royston, Viscount
Bruce, Major	Hardy, G.	Russell, Sir C.
Bruce, Sir H. H.	Hardy, J.	Schreiber, C.
Bruen, H.	Harvey, R. B.	Solator-Booth, G.
Buckley, E.	Henley, J. W.	Stott, Lord H.
Burgley, Lord	Herbert, P. E.	Sourfield, J. H.
Burrell, Sir P.	Heygate, Sir F. W.	Salwyn, C. J.
Cairns, Sir H. M. O.	Hodgson, W. M.	Severne, J. E.
Cartwright, Col.	Hogg, Colonel	Simonds, W. B.
Castlerosse, Visct	Holford, R. S.	Smith, S. G.
Cave, S.	Holmesdale, Lord	Somerset, Col.
Cecil, Lord E.	Hope, A. J.	Stanhope, J. B.
Clive, Captain	Hornby, W. H.	Stanley, Hon. F.
Cochrane, A. D.	Horsfall, T. B.	Stronge, Sir J.
Cole, H.	Howes, E.	Surtees, F.
Cole, J. L.	Hubbard, J. G.	Surtees, H. E.
Conolly, T.	Huddlestone, J. W.	Thorold, J. H.
Courtenay, Lord	Hunt, G. W.	Tollmache, J.
Cooper, E. H.	Jolliffe, Sir W. G. H.	Tottenham, Lt-Col.
Cox, W. T.	Kekewich, S. T.	Treby, J. W.
Cranbourne, Visct	Kennard, R. W.	Trevor, Lord A. H. H.
Cubitt, G.	Ker, D. S.	Troilope, Sir J.
Dowdswell, W. E.	King, J. G.	Turner, C.
Du Cane, C.	King, J. K.	Tyrone, Earl of
Duncombe, A.	Knight, F. W.	Verner, E. W.
Duncombe, W. E.	Knox, Col.	Vernor, Sir W.
Dunne, General	Langton, W. G.	Walcott, Admiral
Du Pre, C. G.	Lechmere, Sir E.	Waldegrave-Leslie, G.
Dyke, W. H.	Lagh, Major O.	Walker, Major G. G.
Dyott, Col. R.	Letroy, A.	Walrand, J. W.
Earle, R. A.	Lennox, Lord G. G.	Walsh, A.
Eckersley, N.	Liddell, H. G.	Walsh, Sir J.
Edwards, Col.	Lindsay, Colonel O.	Whitehead, J.
Egerton, Sir P. G.	Long, R. P.	Whitmore, H.
Egerton, E. C.	Lowther, Captain	Williams, F. M.
Egerton, W.	Lowther, J.	Wise, H. C.
Fane, Lieut-Col.	Malcolm, J. W.	Wood, B. T.
Farquhar, Sir M.	Manners, Lord J.	Wyndham, H.
Feilden, J.	Meller, W.	Wynn, C. W. H.
Ferguson, Sir J.	Miller, S. B.	
Ferrand, W.	Mills, C. H.	
Fleming, J.	Mitford, W. T.	
Floyer, J.		

PAIRS.

FOR THE BILL.

Mr. Horwman
Lord R. Grosvenor
Mr. Adair
Mr. R. Duff
Mr. White
Sir F. Crossley,
Mr. H. F. Beaumont
Mr. Lee
Mr. F. Dundas
Colonel Sykes
Mr. Layard
Mr. Ingham
Colonel Stuart (Cardiff)
Mr. Butler
Lord O. Fitzgerald
Sir H. Williamson
Mr. Devereux
Captain Mackinnon
Sir A. Baller
Mr. Harri
Sir M. Peto
Mr. B. Hamilton
Mr. Waring
Sir J. Johnstone
Sir P. Urquhart
Mr. Robertson
Mr. R. W. Crawford
Mr. Lowe
Mr. Tice
Hon. W. O. Stanley
Mr. St. Aubyn
Mr. H. Grenfell
Sir W. Russell
Hon. A. Kinnaird
Mr. Colville
Mr. Childers
Mr. A. O. Sherriff
Mr. Ramsay
Mr. Merry
Rothschild, N. M.

AGAINST THE BILL.

Captain Archdall
Colonel L. Lindsay
Mr. H. Selwin
Sir C. Mordaunt
Sir Stafford Northcote
Col. Wilson Patten
Mr. Corry
Mr. Baggallay
Mr. Akroyd
Colonel Stuart
Mr. R. Torrens
Mr. W. Leslie
Sir Thomas Hesketh
Mr. Jones
Mr. Oobbold
Lord George Manners
Mr. Greenall
General Peel
Sir L. Falk
Lord Henniker
Mr. Crawshaw Bailey
Mr. T. J. Miller
Mr. Kalk
Mr. Brooks
Hon. R. Dutton
Sir R. Knightley
Lord Stanhope
Mr. O. Sykes
Mr. T. Baring
Mr. Rolt
Mr. Fellowes
Major Knox
Lord A. Hervey
Earl of Dalketh
Hon. C. Oust
Sir W. W. Wynn
Colonel Annesley
Sir M. Lopes
Lord H. Thynne
Mr. Humphrey.

A few Conservatives, it will be seen, voted for the bill, viz., Mr. Antrobus, Mr. J. M. Gaskell, Mr. W. B. Hughes, Mr. M. Lagan, Mr. Mainwaring, Mr. P. Smollett, and Mr. W. R. M. Wynne.

The only Liberal names to be found in the minority are those of three Irish Roman Catholic members—Viscount Castlerosse, Colonel French, and Mr. W. Monnell; and the name of the Hon. G. Waldegrave Leslie.

The following Cabinet Ministers were either absent or paired:—Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Cardwell, the Marquis of Hartington, Sir G. Grey, Mr. Villiers, and Mr. Gibson.

The progress made by this question is shown by the fact that when Mr. Bouvier's bill was last before the House of Commons in 1864 it received but 101 votes, and was lost by a majority of 56; whereas on Wednesday 208 members voted in its favour, and it was carried by a majority of 22. The majority would have been larger, but that Messrs. Kinnaird, Barnes, Calcraft, Grove, and other supporters of the bill, were shut out. Several members, who had paired till half-past four, were prevented voting by the fact that the division occurred three minutes before that time. Adding the pairs (40), and the four names referred to, and the two tellers, we have a total of 254 members favourable to the bill.

EPITOME OF DOMESTIC NEWS.

The Court will return to Windsor to-morrow. Prince Arthur was confirmed at Whippingham Church by the Archbishop of Canterbury last Thursday.

Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein has brought his visit of eleven days to the Queen to a close. He returned to the Continent on Saturday.

A Cabinet Council was held on Saturday. Another meeting will be held this afternoon.

The Army and Navy Gazette understands that Captain Coles has at length received the sanction of the Admiralty to construct a sea-going turret-ship on his own plans and designs.

Mr. Mannere Sutton has been appointed Governor of Victoria, in the place of Sir Charles Darling, recalled.

Parliament will, according to the Owl, be asked to grant an allowance of 3,000*l.* a year to the Princess Mary of Cambridge, on her marriage with Prince de Teck.

It is announced that June 11 is fixed for the laying of the foundation stone of the new Bible Society's house by the Prince of Wales.

Mr. John Pope Hennessy is to be married in a few days. The lady is a Miss Cauning, a Roman Catholic, a relation of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, at whose house the wedding breakfast is to be given. Mr. and Mrs. Disraeli are among the invited guests, and the leader of the Opposition is to propose the bride's health.

CONGREGATIONAL SCHOOL, LEWISHAM.—The annual meeting of the above school was held at the Congregational Library, Blomfield-street, on the 24th inst. In the absence of J. R. Mills, Esq., M.P., who was prevented by domestic affliction from attendance, R. J. Kitchener, Esq., presided. After prayer by the Rev. John Gay, of Ipswich, the report and balance-sheet were read by the hon. secretary, the Rev. Josiah Viney. Both were highly encouraging, and show that increasing interest was being taken in the school, which, with the present election, will include 50 boys. The adoption of the report was moved by Dr. Lockhart, and seconded by the Rev. T. Aveling, both of whom warmly and appropriately advocated the cause of the institution. Subsequently resolutions were spoken to by C. A. Bartlett, Esq., the Revs. Henry Richard, H. Baker, and George Gogery; and after thanks to the esteemed chairman for his long and tried services to the school during a period of thirty years, the poll was declared open, and its results were as announced in the advertising columns of this paper.

THE CHOLERA.—A case of Asiatic cholera has occurred at Bristol. It appears that a seaman came from Rotterdam, *via* London, and that on the journey from the latter place he was first attacked with the disease, which made such rapid strides that within eighteen hours of his first seizure he was a corpse. Dr. Davies, the medical inspector of the city, and Dr. W. Budd, both pronounced it a case of Asiatic cholera. The Clerk of the Council has addressed a circular to the local authorities at the outposts of Great Britain and Ireland informing them that inasmuch as cholera has broken out at Rotterdam it will be well to take such precautions as were indicated in communications addressed from the Council Office last summer when the disease appeared in the Levant. Mr. Helps expresses a hope that means will be provided for the treatment of any persons who, arriving in this country, may be infected with cholera.

ELECTIONS.—The requisition to Lord Amberley and Mr. Handel Cossam to come forward for Nottingham has received over seventeen hundred signatures. On Monday night, both gentlemen were present at a meeting of Liberals, and accepted the invitation to stand for the borough. There is to be no compromise, it seems, at Windsor. Two Liberal candidates are in the field, namely Mr. Roger Eykyn and Mr. Charles Edwards. There was a meeting of the Conservatives on Monday, when the names of two Conservatives were submitted. Those names were Sir Henry Drummond Wolff and Colonel Gardner. Lord Clarence Paget is going to join the Mediterranean fleet, and therefore has resigned his seat for Sandwich. A new writ for the borough was ordered on Monday night. Mr. Thomas Brassey, jun., Liberal, and Mr. Charles Capper, Conservative, have issued addresses. Mr. G. Shaw-Lefevre has accepted a post in the Admiralty, and must offer himself to his constituents at Reading for re-election. The writ was issued on Monday. Sir Stafford Northcote has consented to stand for North Devon. He is likely to be opposed by Mr. Drewe.

UNSOLICITED ADVANCE OF WAGES.—A meeting of a very unique and interesting character is reported in the *Ashton and Stalybridge Reporter* of last week. It was held for the purpose of celebrating an unsolicited advance of wages of 10 per cent. which had been granted by Mr. Hugh Mason to his workpeople at Oxford Mills, Ryecroft, and occasion was taken at the same time by those assembled (about 330 in number) to present an address to Mr. Mason, setting forth in very eloquent terms this and other instances of his beneficence and regard for the welfare of his workpeople and townsmen. Mr. Mason was one of those who worked full time and paid full wages during the cotton famine; and although many predicted that this very course would encourage his workpeople to demand higher wages when better times came, he stood his ground, and now after a lapse of three years, advances their wages 10 per cent. before a whisper of any such demand has been breathed. The consequence of this step cannot but be such as to confirm Mr. Mason's faith in humanity.

EPITOME OF FOREIGN NEWS.

There seems to be no doubt that the Austrian Government has ordered all its land and naval forces to be placed upon a war footing by the 1st of May. All soldiers on furlough are said to have been recalled and armed, and arrangements made for an extraordinary concentration of troops in the province of Rovigo, where a camp of observation has been formed. Every town in Venetia was said to be transformed into a barrack. Italian troops were being sent with all despatch into the Austrian provinces, and were replaced as rapidly as possible by German regiments destined to occupy the line of the Po. The Archduke Albrecht had arrived at Verona. A telegram from that city says his staff officers speak openly of an approaching campaign. In that city all the preparations are made with so much haste and in such proportions as to induce the belief that hostilities would commence in ten or twelve days.

It was expected that by the 1st of May Austria would have assembled on the Venetian frontier an effective force of 160,000 men.

The stories of engagements on the frontier were totally unfounded.

Great preparations for war are being made in Italy. The fortresses of Capua, Gorta, Cremona, and Pavia were being armed, and a large fleet of men-of-war was collected at Spezzia. On the 28th General Cialdini had an interview with the King, at which Generals La Marmora, Pettinengo, Menabria, and Pettiti were also present. It has been decided to arm the Volunteers in all the provinces infested by brigands, in order to facilitate the concentration of troops ordered by the Ministry. The Italian Government has taken another step in the direction of war. The Chamber, of course on the motion of the Government, have authorised them, until the end of July, to incur whatever expense may be required for the defence of the State, and to have recourse to such extraordinary measures as may be needed to fill the Treasury. The maintenance of the existing taxes under these circumstances was a matter of course. It is also stated that the Minister of the Interior has made the necessary preparations for the mobilisation of the National Guard.

A letter from Florence in the *Novimento* of Genoa says:—"We have news from Caprera. The lion is furbishing his arms. Whether La Marmora be willing or unwilling, he and his followers will take part in the national struggle."

Prussia has, it is said, refused to disarm, in conse-

quence of the warlike attitude of Austria in Venetia, but the Berlin papers deny that a treaty of alliance has been concluded between Austria and Italy. To a peremptory summons from Prussia to disarm, the Saxon Government has returned an evasive reply.

According to a Vienna paper, the Emperor Napoleon has declared to the Italian Cabinet that he will in no way assist Italy in case she should attack Austria.

The Austrian Government is said to be willing to cease warlike preparations if the neutral Powers will induce Italy to do the same. There is also an unauthenticated rumour that Austria intends to propose a European Congress.

On Monday the Emperor Napoleon attended a special council of his Ministers in Paris. It is stated that the subject under discussion was a proposal made on Sunday last by Prince Metternich, the Austrian ambassador in this city, that Austria and Italy should simultaneously disarm.

The *Constitutionnel* of yesterday published an article showing that, if war should break out, France will in no way be responsible. "France," says M. Paulin Limayrac, "has remained entirely neutral. She has reserved to herself complete liberty of action, and will not be driven into war against her will by any occurrence whatsoever."

The reported outbreak of cholera at Rotterdam is confirmed. Twelve cases had been reported, and the inhabitants were in a state of great alarm.

From America we have telegrams of the 18th inst. The Reconstruction Committee had submitted to the House of Representatives a report rather favourable to the readmission of the Southern States to the Union, and testifying to the loyal feeling of the people of Georgia. Resolutions endorsing Mr. Johnson's policy have been defeated in the Texan Convention. The Mexican question had again been taken up by the House, which has called for any papers containing a promise by France to withdraw her forces from that country. The *New York Times* declares that the United States ought to resist the sending of troops to Mexico by Austria. There had been 130 more deaths on board the steamer England.

Intelligence has been received at the Foreign Office, through her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, from Colonel Merewether, dated Aden, April 20, to the effect that he had received a letter from Captain Cameron, dated Magdala, February 26, stating that he and his fellow-prisoners had been released from their chains on the previous day, and were about to proceed to Gaffat, to be given up to Mr. Rassam. The letter further reported everything as being friendly, and stated that Messrs. Stern and Rosenthal were not to be subjected to any further trial.

From Chili and Peru the news is that war with Spain proceeds, and that two or three naval demonstrations made by the Spaniards against the allies have been repulsed.

We learn from Canton that the Chinese Imperial army, commanded by General Paschao, had obtained a complete victory over a body of 50,000 rebels, supposed to be the residue of the Taepings, in the north-east of the province of Quantung. The conflict lasted two days, and resulted in the whole body of the rebels being either slaughtered or taken prisoners.

THE JAMAICA COMMISSION.

The Jamaica mail arrived on Saturday, bringing home Mr. Russell Gurney and Mr. J. B. Maule, the Royal Commissioners, from Jamaica, the inquiry having been concluded. Sir H. Storks and Mr. Roundell, Secretary to the Commission, remain for the present. The advices date to the 9th inst. In Spanish Town the Commission, which was opened in January, has sat for fifty-one days, and examined over 800 witnesses. Besides these sittings Mr. Gurney held court for five days in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and three weeks afterwards Mr. Maule also took evidence there. It must be remembered also that of the 800 witnesses some were recalled and examined two or three times over. There is said to be but one feeling among all parties as to the mode in which the inquiry has been conducted. It is possible that the report, whatever that may be, will please few people in Jamaica. But all are agreed that the investigation has been prosecuted throughout with great ability, and could not have been marked by greater diligence or impartiality. The report and notes of evidence will not occupy less than 2,000 pages of the usual Blue-book size.

On the closing days of the inquiry, there were several conflicts of testimony; the interest of which lies in this, that Dr. Morris and Ensign Cullen were implicated in three deliberate murders, unless they be acquitted on their own denial in the face of witnesses against them.

The total number of "rebels" shot or hung during the continuance of martial law has been carefully ascertained by the Commissioners, and is said to amount to 438. This is stated to include all who were sentenced to death by court-martial, shot in the bush, or on the march by soldiers, or hung without form of law. About 800 persons are found to have been flogged, and—what is more startling—no less than 1,000 houses of the peasantry, affording shelter for some 4,000 souls, were burnt down.

Sir Henry Storks had received an address from twenty-seven Baptist missionaries; in reply to which, he thanked them for their promised co-operation in "protecting the rights of all classes," and acknowledged warmly "the support and assistance of all parties."

Affairs in the colony were settling down. Mrs. Gordon is to come to England by the steamer after next.

Literature.

DALE'S SERMONS.*

The volume of Mr. Dale's sermons before us comprises ten discourses. Of these, three were delivered in connection with the closing and re-opening of Carr's-lane Chapel; three more are "missionary sermons"; one was occasioned by the Shakespeare Tercentenary Commemoration, and preached in the Independent Chapel, Stratford-on-Avon; another, by the visit of the British Association to Birmingham last September; and the tenth is a pastoral charge. We have so recently reviewed the same author's discourses on the Epistle to the Hebrews, that it is unnecessary for us to do more than speak generally of the present series. They exhibit the same vigorous sense, the same sterling honesty of intellect, and the same power of earnest, direct appeal: while a special interest attaches to some of them as dealing with current questions of the day. It might not be difficult to point to sermons exhibiting a more sustained eloquence, a more exquisite imagination, or a profounder originality; but we have met with few coming, on the whole, more near to our notion of what pulpit address, to congregations of fair intelligence and culture, ought to be. There is a sobriety about Mr. Dale's thought, which is equally removed from common-place and from the perilous aim to be novel or dazzling: and though he does not shrink from plain statement, yet there is a balance—by no means that of a trimmer—and a judiciousness, about his mode of dealing with problems involving difference of opinion, eminently calculated to conciliate an opponent. Mr. Dale is, however, much more concerned with the presentation of the positive side of truth, than with the demolition of error; holding to the conviction—as he evidently does—that the truest apologetics are to be found in the practical operation of Christ's Gospel, together with such earnest and eloquent exposition of its principles both from the pulpit and in works distinctly theological, as shall suffice to place that Gospel truly and livingly before the eyes of the world. Far be it from us to disparage the labours of those who have encountered the foe "at the gates"; but we entirely sympathise with Mr. Dale in the following remarks upon the subject of our theological literature, occurring in the sermon entitled, "Genius the Gift of God" (Shakespeare Tercentenary):—

"It is surely a melancholy sign of the spirit of these times, that . . . there are so few men of great powers who address themselves laboriously to the deeper and grander truths of the Christian faith. . . . I doubt the policy of devoting all our strength to repel the assaults of unbelievers; we should more certainly win the judgments and impress the hearts of men, if we gave at least equal pains to the elaboration of the positive teaching of Christ and His Spirit."—Pp. 277, 278.

Who writes a "De Civitate Dei," an "Institutio Christianæ Religionis," or a "Body of Divinity" now-a-days? Partly, perhaps, the transitional character of the religious thought of the present generation is unfavourable to such works. Time must be given for formularies and creeds which have been shaken to re-adjust themselves, and for mere negation to retire from the field where its work is done. But the interest awakened by such books as Bushnell's "Vicarious Sacrifice," Rénan's "Vie de Jésus," and the anonymously-published "Ecce Homo," proves that theological writing has not ceased to command readers; and that there is a demand for such a treatment of religious subjects as shall tend to give clearness of outline to the very confused opinions and semi-opinions which prevail. Mr. Dale's sermon on "Physical Science and Religious Faith" is valuable for the force with which it indicates the biases which scientific research, too exclusively pursued, is apt to impart to the mind; and for its vindication of the incomparably higher claims of moral and religious thought. He who confines himself to "science" cuts himself off from the nobler half of God's universe.

There is not one of these discourses which is without its point of distinctive interest—as, for example, the bold assertion of the righteousness of the Divine character, appealing to our own moral conceptions, as the necessary condition of true and rational worship, contained in the first; the manly vindication of the Christian preacher's function as a teacher of morals no less than of doctrine, in the second; the eloquent exposition of the duty and blessedness of "common prayer," in the third; and—not to make the enumeration tedious—the eminently evangelical exhibition of central Christian truth, contained in that entitled, "The Living God the Saviour of all Men." Incidentally, and very appropriately, when speaking of worship, Mr. Dale touches upon the secondary subject of Christian architecture. Here we entirely agree with him in his repudiation of all literal symbolism (if we may so call it, as distinguished from the truer symbolism of purity of colour

and strength and beauty of structure)—such as that which sought, by the form and adjuncts of a Christian Church, to indicate essential Christian truth. "If it is convenient to have transepts," urges Mr. Dale, "let us have them; but not because the structure of the church should remind the worshippers of the cross of Christ and His atonement. . . . If it is convenient, again, to have a central tower and side aisles, let us have them; but not to remind us, by the three-fold division of the church, in length and breadth, of the doctrine of the Trinity" (p. 95). We are not so sure that we agree with one positive suggestion made in the same discourse, that we should do well to adorn our houses of worship with representations—portraits and busts, we presume—"of the men whom God has raised up in different lands to render illustrious service to the church" (p. 98). We fear the tendency of this would be rather to divert than to intensify worship; and for our part we should much prefer, in such a place, the kneeling and adoring saints of our stained windows, whom no one cares greatly to identify, to the finest portraits in colour or in stone, of Luther, Calvin, Howe, or Watts.

But we had no intention, when commencing this brief notice, to criticise details, and must refrain from discussing any of the other numerous topics of interest presented in these discourses. We have read them with genuine satisfaction and enjoyment, and can heartily commend them, both on the score of matter and manner, to the attention of all thoughtful readers.

BRIEF NOTICES.

The Sabbath Question, Historical, Scriptural, and Practical. By the Rev. JAMES MACGREGOR, Free High Church, Paisley, Author of "Text-book for Youth—Christian Doctrine," the articles "Hegel" and "Jacobi" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," &c. (Edinburgh: Duncan Grant. London: J. Nisbet and Co.) Mr. Macgregor has certainly acted on the motto of his clan, "E'en do and spare nocht." He has come forth to fight for the perpetual obligation and strict observance of the Christian Sabbath; and his enemies, Drs. Tulloch and Macleod, he has smitten "hip and thigh," and shown no mercy. The recent manifestoes of these gentlemen have called him to the battle; but this does not exhaust the fierceness of his wrath, for were these foes members of his own Church, he "would not stop short of bringing the heretic either to retraction or to deposition." This polemic is divided into three books, in which the question is presented in its "Historical," "Scriptural," and "Practical" aspects. The sum of the historical discussion is,—The "ecclesiastical" theory of the Lord's-day is merely a modern ("Popish") innovation. The Dominical theory has never been the creed of any Christian Church. Our "Sabbatarian theory, so far as there has been any Church doctrine of the Lord's-day, is the doctrine of the Catholic Church." The only reliable foundation of a due observance of the Lord's-day is concluded to be the Catholic doctrine of the Fourth Commandment, of which doctrine the Puritan Sabbath is the legitimate result. Whether the truth be with Mr. Macgregor or not, and whether or not he has well maintained his argument, we do not here give an opinion. Much more than with his sturdy defence of one of the Ten Commandments have we been struck with his practical disregard of that "love" which is "the fulfilling of the law." When theologians discuss we expect hot words; but surely, Christian courtesy and Christian charity should not altogether be thrown aside with the coat and collar and other impedimenta to a fair bout in the ring. Drs. Macleod and Tulloch are scarcely the men to be thus referred to:—"We ought to be on our guard against those prophets who sing the Siren song of praise to self, and administer the Circean cup which pleases our vanity and pride while turning those who drink it into swine; and, vampires as they are, glut their own carnal affections while they lull poor dying souls to an eternal sleep of death." There must be a sufficient amount of conceit in one who finds it more and more difficult to keep up the appearance of regarding Dr. Macleod as a theologian deserving to be "seriously reasoned against"; and who in speaking of the primitive Church fathers will deal with such "really respectable antagonists as Dr. Hessey and Mr. Cox." We are made quite familiar in this book with "vague Antinomian cant," and with the fact that the two Doctors who so excite Mr. Macgregor's righteous indignation receive the pay and enjoy the honours of the Scottish Establishment; and were we to take all the hints and innuendoes strewn about, we should conclude that these two learned men are very unsafe teachers, and only by a sketch of charity to be considered Christians. Dr. Tulloch is even likened to "a pretentious ignoramus, wishing to be a prophet of 'hobble-de-hoyism.'" Though the book is so much marred and spoiled by this bitter spirit, there is very much in it that will serve as data in considering the Sabbath question.

Passages from the Autobiography of a "Man of Kent." Together with a few rough Pen-and-ink Sketches, by the same hand, of Some of the People he has Met, the Changes he has Seen, and the Places he has Visited, 1817—1865. Edited by REGINALD FITZ-ROY STANLEY, M.A. (London: Printed by Whittingham and Wilkins. For Subscribers only.) "Men of Kent,"

be it known, differ from "Kentish men" as aborigines differ from immigrants. They are chiefly to be found in East Kent, while the Kentish men are dwellers in the western parts of the county. The "Man of Kent" who writes the autobiography is still living. His admiring editor, who seems thoroughly to appreciate his friend's many good points, says he is an *intense man*, which we can easily believe after reading his book. The early part of the autobiography is the most interesting. As it treats of his boyhood, so there is more of freshness and animation in it. The description of his schools and schoolmasters, and his various escapades; of Canterbury in the good old coach days; of the excitement in the time of the Reform Bill, when good Dr. Hawley, the Archbishop, was mobbed in the streets of the city, are graphic and amusing. Perhaps the writer has been too freely communicative in the confession of youthful sins and excesses, but his earnest desire to deter young men from drifting into like follies must be his excuse. Indeed, we are not sure that there is not too great a reticence in most good people in regard to certain youthful sins, and that, in consequence, the young are not unfrequently lured into imprudences in sheer simplicity. The writer contracted from a schoolfellow a habit of stammering which has been a pain and loss to him almost all his days; but for this he would have entered the army. Many "pseudo-curers" tried their skill or ignorance upon him before he met with an able man who really much benefited him. Though born of Church parents, he joined the Congregational church under the Rev. J. Stratten, and in due time was elected a deacon. In later years he became a Baptist. He has always been a reformer, and is not ashamed of being called a "Political Dissenter." Like most men who have seen much of men and things and books, the writer has formed an opinion upon almost every subject that came before him, which opinion he is not slow to record in these pages, so that, we must confess, he often presses pitilessly and without stint. Being very fond of reading, we are told of all the great writers and speakers in whom he has delighted. Poetry especially has had charms for him, and, like a true lover, he supposes it must have charms for all, for abundant extracts are introduced, so that it is a rarity to find a page without "lines." The description of places visited by him on the continent and in our own country, and of his experiences in his tours, though containing nothing very novel, afford a pleasant diversion from the more sober course of the narrative.

Saul: a Dramatic Poem. By W. S. ROWORTH, B.A. (London: Elliot Stock.) Of the dramas on sacred subjects this is the best we have seen for some time. The characters are distinct and natural and true to the record. The drama opens with a soliloquy by Saul, as restless, sleepless, unhappy, and clouded with gloomy forebodings, he reviews his rise to kingly power, and anticipates angrily "the rising glories of young David's house." Jonathan, the chivalrous, suffering solipsist, is truthfully presented. David does not appear in propria persona. Much of the scene is laid in the cavern of the Witch of Endor, where are all the paraphernalia of the rites forbidden. Several spirits of air, of winds, and waters, and of the dark places of earth, appear at the witch's bidding, and each tells of his deeds in verse of varying measure, which is often very beautiful. The demon spirit who specially afflicts Saul is one of the chief *dramatis personæ*. The drama closes with the scene of death on Mount Gilboa. We would just suggest to the author that such phrases as "vastly deep," "dare defy," &c., would be better without the inverted commas. They are not worthy to be treated as quotations, and if marked as such they suggest an anachronism.

The Story of a Life, and other Works, chiefly Poetical. By WILLIAM ALFRED GIBBS, (London: A. W. Bennett.) Mr. Gibbs says of the various productions of his pen in this book that they are "chiefly poetical"; but if what he sings of "The Poet's Mission" be true, that it is,—

With a burning word to draw the rays
Of scattered light, and bring them to a point—
A pencil point of fire.
With clear introspection piercing thro'
A cloud of words, to reach the central sense,
And speak it out with fearless utterance,

we cannot say that that mission is his. There are no "burning words" here. We have, indeed, "a cloud of words," but without the "clear introspection." Mr. Gibbs sketches from life, and gives surface views of things in not unpleasant rhymed verse. His heart is right and his purpose high. He sternly denounces wickedness in high or low places, and is caustic upon follies. He pleads and reasons with the misguided or ignorant, but the "faculty divine" he has not, and there is withal a tone of self-complacency heard now and then that mars both the music and the theme. The principal poem, "The Story of a Life," has much of human interest and deep pathos: the moral of which is, Do not marry a near relation—first cousin, we suppose—if you do, madness or death, lasting through generations, is the sure consequence. Amongst the smaller pieces is, "An Attempt at a Completion of Lord Macaulay's 'Armada.'" Of this we will only say it would have been better had the attempt not been made. The only piece not in verse is a "Comedy." Where the comic in this is we cannot see. There is a laboured straining after the funny, but whether it is reached or not we cannot say. We only know it does not make us laugh.

* Discourses delivered on Special Occasions. By R. W. DALE, M.A., Author of "The Jewish Temple and the Christian Church." London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.

Money Market and Commercial Intelligence.

City, Tuesday Evening.

To-day being the 1st of May the Transfer offices of the Bank of England and the Stock Exchange have been closed. Most securities have shown a downward tendency owing to the unsettled state of Continental politics and the withdrawal of gold from the Bank. The decline has extended to American securities, banking, miscellaneous, and discount companies' shares. The closing price of Consols on Monday evening was 86½ for money, and 86¼ for the June settlement.

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

BIRTHS.

KNIGHT.—April 23, at Wivelscombe, the wife of Mr. W. J. B. Knight, chemist, of a son.

DORLING.—April 23, at 3, Fairlight-villas, Hackney, the wife of the Rev. William Dorling, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

WORRELL-WATSON.—April 16, at Deane Park Chapel, Lee, Blackheath, James Worrell, of Dartmouth-terrace, Forest-hill, Kent, to Jane Rebecca Watson, second daughter of the late Andrew Watson, of Cromer.

COCKROFT-WHITE.—April 19, at the Baptist chapel, Allerton, by the Rev. W. E. Winks, Edwin, eldest son of Mr. Thomas Cockcroft, to Sarah, fourth daughter of Mr. Samuel White, all of Allerton.

BAILLIE-SPARKS.—April 19, at the Congregational chapel, Colchester, Ebenezer, youngest son of the Rev. J. Baillie, of Ipswich, to Mary Eliza, eldest daughter of the late Mr. J. J. Sparks of Ipswich.

BARNES-BLACKALLER.—April 21, at Great George's-street Chapel, Liverpool, by the Rev. Enoch Mellor, M.A., the Rev. F. Barnes, B.A., minister of the Congregational church, Oxton-road, Birkenhead, to Mary, eldest daughter of J. B. Blackaller, Esq., of Liverpool.

MURRAY-BENNETT.—April 24, at St. Luke's, Holloway, by the Rev. G. A. Rogers, incumbent, James Robertson, second son of John Murray, Esq., of Shepherd's-bush, to Margaret Amelia, second daughter of John Bennett, Esq., of Margaret's-inn, Temple, and Hillmartin-road, Camden-road.

BURTON-GOUGH.—April 24, at the Independent chapel, Brompton, by the Rev. E. Gough, brother of the bride, the Rev. Thomas Burton, Independent minister of Barton-on-Humber, to Eliza, eldest daughter of Mr. Edward Gough, of Boston, near Malton.

GRANT-HAIG.—April 24, at the Presbyterian church, Regent-square, by the Rev. James Hamilton, D.D., Anne, eldest daughter of the late George Grant, jun., Esq., of Portsmouth, to the Rev. William Haig, of Norham, Berwick-on-Tweed.

COOK-SIMPSON.—April 24, at Westgate Chapel, Bradford, by the Rev. Henry Dawson, Mr. Edward Wilkinson Cook, of Bradford, to Miss Mercy Ann Simpson, of Manningham.

SHAW-THOMPSON.—April 25, at the Baptist chapel, Rawdon, by the Rev. Robert Holmes, Mr. G. Shaw, of Dukinfield, eldest son of Thomas Shaw, Esq., of Southport, to Kate, third daughter of William G. Thompson, of Larkfield.

NASH-MULLINGER.—April 25, at the Vine Congregational Church, Rochester, by the Rev. G. L. Herman, Mr. William Henry Nash, son of Mr. Nash, of Oxbridge, to Rebecca Shirley, daughter of Mr. G. Mullinger, Chatham.

BLORE-STONE.—April 26, by the Rev. J. W. Blore, at the Congregational church, Markham square, Chelsea, Charles Edward Blore, to Fanny Caroline Stone.

SMITH-DYER.—April 26, at King-street Baptist Chapel, Bristol, by the Rev. T. A. Wheeler, William Henry, only son of Mr. William Smith, Kingsdown-parade, to Frances Alice, youngest daughter of the late Captain Samuel Dyer, of Bristol.

CROSSLAND-BIRKS.—April 26, at the Wicker Congregational church, Sheffield, by the Rev. Samuel Martin, minister, of Westminster, assisted by the Rev. Henry Tarrant, resident minister, Louis John Crossland, Esq., of Willow Hall, Halifax, only son of John Crossland, Esq., of Manor Heath, to Hannah Birks, only daughter of the late Thomas Birks, Esq., of Sheffield.

BURGHAM-GUYTON.—April 26, at the Baptist chapel, Great Ellingham, by the Rev. J. Kiddle, Mr. William Burgham, Rockland St. Peter, to Miss Jane Guyton, of Great Ellingham.

FERGUSON-WATKINS.—April 26, at Barnaby Chapel, by the Rev. A. H. New, Alexander C. Ferguson, Esq., of Glasgow, to Jennie, widow of the late F. Watkins, Esq., of Barnaby Park. No cards.

WADDINGTON-WALTON.—April 30, in the Baptist chapel, Sutton-in-Craven, Yorkshire, by the Rev. W. E. Archer, Mr. Christopher Waddington, of Colne, Lancashire, to Emma, youngest daughter of the late Mr. Joseph Walton, of Sutton-in-Craven.

GROSBART-MCDOWALL.—May 1, at Dublin, in Lower Abbey-street Presbyterian Church, by the Rev. S. G. Morrison, the Rev. A. B. Grosbart, Prince's Park-road, United Presbyterian Church, Liverpool, to Elizabeth, only daughter of David McDowall, Esq., of Vernon Parade, Clontarf, county Dublin.

DEATHS.

SOUTHWELL.—April 18, at Bridgnorth, in the faith and hope of the Gospel, Mr. B. B. Southwell, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

ANDERSON.—April 27, at Oakland House, Cricklewood, Middlesex, where he was staying for attending the annual meeting of the Synod of the English Presbyterian Church, the Rev. Alexander Anderson, of Falsone Manor, near Hexham, Northumberland, English Presbyterian minister, aged thirty-three.

RENWICK.—April 28, at Islington, aged twenty-three years, Flora Sarah, the beloved wife of Thomas Renwick, of Glasgow, and youngest daughter of Allan Templeton, of London.

GREAT NORTHERN HOSPITAL, CALEDONIAN-ROAD, ISLINGTON.—Number of patients for week ending 28th April, 1,155, of which 329 were new cases.

STROCK BLIND.—The paragraph which we copied last week from the *Morning Post*, to the effect that a boy had been struck blind after uttering a terrible oath, is stated by the *Brighton Examiner* to be utterly untrue from beginning to end.

MORROWAY'S OINTMENT AND PILLS.—These potent remedies constitute a materia medica in themselves, for there is no internal or external disorder controllable by medicine for which the one or the other of them is not a positive remedy—eczema, tinea, scrofula, scurvy, asthma, rheumatism, gonorrhea, and dropsy entirely subside and disappear under the action of these joint medicines; and in cases of indigestion, sick headache, bile, liver complaints, debility, and other disorders originating in the internal organs, the Pills produce the most astonishing results imaginable. The student of nature knows how simple are her ways; if one preparation can throw out all impurities from the blood, disease is conquered, art triumphant, because it adopts the simplicity of nature.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Friday's Gazette.)

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 82, for the week ending Wednesday, April 25.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.	
Notes issued ..	£28,005,830
Government Debt ..	£11,015,100
Other Securities ..	£3,934,900
Gold Coin & Bullion ..	£13,005,830
	£28,005,830

BANKING DEPARTMENT.	
Proprietors' Capital ..	£14,553,000
Reserve ..	£3,204,853
Public Deposits ..	£4,117,147
Other Deposits ..	£13,294,641
Seven Day and other ..	£427,129
Bills ..	£427,129
	£23,596,769

April 26, 1866.

W. MILLER Chief Cashier.

Markets.

CORN EXCHANGE, LONDON, Monday, April 30.

This morning's market was moderately supplied with English wheat, some portion of it in tolerably good condition. This found buyers on the terms of last Monday, but the inferior met a dragging sale. Foreign wheat sells at about the currency of last Monday; but there has been a very limited demand to-day. Barley of all kinds supports the quotations of this day week. Beans and peas unchanged in value. The arrivals of oats during the past week were large, and consisted principally of light qualities. These descriptions met a dull trade, and in cases where it was necessary to press sales prices were the turn in favour of the buyer. Good heavy corn being comparatively scarce, is more inquired for, and commands fully late rates.

CURRENT PRICES.

WHEAT—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.	FRAB—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.
Sheep and Kent	s. d.	s. d.	Grey	34 to 36	
red, old ..	48 to 51		Maple	35 38	
Ditto new ..	33 45		White	37 40	
White, old ..	50 56		Boilers	38 40	
new ..	40 51		Foreign, white ..	34 40	
Foreign red ..	43 48				
white ..	48 58				
BARLEY—					
English malting ..	1 35				
Chevalier ..	26 38				
Distilling ..	27 31				
Foreign ..	20 27				
MALT—					
Pale ..	54 67				
Chevalier ..	64 68				
Brown ..	63 58				
BEANS—					
Ticks ..	38 40				
Harrow ..	40 43				
Small ..	42 47				
Egyptian ..	35 40				

BREAD.—LONDON, Monday, April 30.—The prices of wheat bread in the metropolis are from 7½d. to 8½d.; household ditto, 6d. to 7d.

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET.

MONDAY, April 30.—The total imports of foreign stock into London last week amounted to 9,128 head. In the corresponding week in 1865 we received 9,384; in 1864, 5,344; in 1863, 4,518; in 1862, 2,140; in 1861, 2,095; and in 1860, 4,229 head. There was a full average supply of foreign stock on offer in our market to-day, in, for the most part, good condition. On the whole, sales progressed slowly, at full quotations, to a slight advance. The arrivals of beasts fresh up from our own grazing districts were rather limited, whilst the quality of most breeds was not equal to Monday last. From Ireland and Scotland the receipts were on a very moderate scale. The attendance of buyers was by no means extensive, and the beef trade was consequently inactive. However, most of the stock was disposed of at an advance in the quotations of 2d. per 8lbs. A few very superior Scots sold at 5s. 4d., but the general top figures were 5s. to 5s. 2d. per 8lbs. From Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire we received 990 Scots, Crosses, and Shorthorns; from other parts of England 300 various breeds; from Scotland 800 Scots and Crosses; and from Ireland 50 oxen and heifers. There was a fair average number of sheep in the pens, in prime condition. All breeds sold freely at very full prices. Prime Downs and half-breeds, in the wool, sold at 7s.; out of the wool, 6s. 6d. to 6s. 8d. per 8lbs. Prime lambs were very firm in price, but inferior lambs were rather cheaper. The quotations ranged from 8s. to 9s. per 8lbs. About 500 lambs reached us from the Isle of Wight. Calves were in short supply and good request, at from 6s. 4d. to 6s. 4d. per 8lbs. In pigs only a limited business was passing on former terms—viz., from 4s. to 4s. 10d. per 8lbs.

Per 8lbs. to sink the Oxfal.

Inf. coarse beasts ..	8 to 10	10 to 12	Prime Southdown ..	6 to 7	7 to 8
Second quality ..	4 4	4 8	Lambs	8 0	9 0
Prime large oxen ..	4 10	5 0	Lge. coarse calves ..	4 5	5 0
Prime Scots, &c. ..	5 0	5 2	Prime small ..	6 0	6 4
Coarse inf. sheep ..	4 2	4 8	Large hogs ..	4 0	4 4
Second quality ..	4 10	5 8	Neatam. porkers ..	4 6	4 10
Pr. coarse woolled ..	6 0	6 4			

Quarter-old store pigs, 30s. to 32s. each. Suckling Calves, 21s. to 24s.

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL, Monday, April 30.

These markets are but moderately supplied with meat. Generally speaking, the trade is steady at very full prices.

Per 8lbs. by the carcase.

Superior beef ..	3 2 to 3 6	Small pork ..	4 6 to 4 10
Middling ditto ..	3 8 4 2	Inf. mutton ..	3 6 4 4
Prime large do. ..	4 2 4 4	Middling ditto ..	4 6 5 2
Do. small do. ..	4 4 4 6	Prime ditto ..	5 4 5 6
Large pork ..	8 10 4 4	Veal	4 10 5 8

Lamb, 6s. 0d. to 7s. 0d.

COVENT GARDEN MARKET.—LONDON, Saturday, April 28.

Foreign imports continue heavy, and include both French and broad beans. Grapes and strawberries are plentiful and reduced in price. Dessert pears are confined to Easter Beurre. Apples consist of Nonpareil and Court Pendu Plat. Of pine-apples there is a fair supply. Salads continue to arrive in good condition. Green peas are more plentiful, as are also cucumbers. Flowers chiefly consist of deutzias, orchids, heaths, Chinese primulas, cinerarias, camellias, pelargoniums, azaleas, forced bulbs, and roses.

PROVISIONS, Monday, April 30.—The arrivals last week from Ireland were 444 hkins butter and 8,041 bales bacon, and from foreign ports 19,301 casks, &c., butter, and 1,930 bales and 711 boxes of bacon. In the Irish butter market the business was confined to a few new fourth Cokes, which sold slowly at 90s. to 92s. landed. Foreign butter increased in supply, and prices declined; best Dutch 108s. to 110s. The bacon market ruled dull early in the week, and prices declined. Some sales of best Waterford made at 70s. free on board,

which caused more disposition to buy. At the close of the week landed parcels were pressed, and sales made at 60s. to 71s.

POTATOES.—BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS, Monday, April 30.—The supplies of potatoes on sale are moderate. For most qualities there was a fair demand, and prices ruled firm. The supply was almost wholly confined to home grown produce. Yorkshire Regents, 70s. to 100s.; Flukes, 80s. to 110s.; Rocks, 45s. to 60s.; Scotch Regents, 50s. to 95s.; Rocks, 50s. to 60s.; Kent and Essex Regents, 60s. to 90s. per ton.

BOROUGH HOP MARKET, Monday, April 30.—A steady trade has prevailed during the past week, and the business done has fully supported former quotations. The finest samples, which are now so scarce, are from 2s. to 4s. dearer. The Belgian and Bavarian markets are reported firmer, prices of the former having advanced 5s., and Bavarian from 2s. to 3s. American advices to the 18th inst. report the New York market as quiet, but firm. Mid and East Kent, 100s., 147s., 190s.; Farnham and Country, 100s., 120s., 180s.; Veal of Kent, 80s., 115s., 130s.; Sussex, 70s., 100s., 112s.; Yearlings, 95s., 120s., 135s.; Bavarians, 110s., 100s., 180s. The imports of foreign hops into London last week were 85 bales from Antwerp, 114 Boulogne, 72 Rotterdam, 18 Hamburg, and 30 bales from New York.

SEED, Monday, April 30.—The demand for seeds during the past week has been very small; and the consumptive demand may be considered nearly finished. There are now some speculative buyers for red seed, and some parcels of American have found buyers at 2s. to 3s. more than could be obtained fourteen days since. White seed does not meet attention. Trefle are only saleable at lower rates.

WOOL, Monday, April 30.—The imports of colonial wool having been very extensive since our last report, and the stock having increased to 130,000 bales, our market has ruled heavy, and the quotations have been with difficulty supported. It is understood that nearly, or quite, 200,000 bales of colonial wool will be offered at the next public sales.

TALLOW.—LONDON, Monday, April 30.—The tallow trade is steady to-day, and prices have slightly improved. The quotation for F.Y.O. is 47s. to 47s. 3d. per cwt. on the spot. Town tallow commands 45s. 3d. net cash. Rough fat 2s. 4½d. per 8lbs.

OIL, MONDAY, April 30.—Lined oil is dull at 3½s. per cwt. on the spot. Rape is steady, at about last week's currency. Gallipoli olive and nearly all descriptions of fish oils are firm in price. French spirits of turpentine are selling at 47s. per cwt. on the spot. American refined petroleum 2s. 2½d. per gallon.

COALS, MONDAY, April 30.—An advance of 3d. on second coal; no alteration on the best quality. Hestons, 18s. 6d.; Haswell, 18s. 6d.; Lumley, 17s.; Hartlepool, 18s. 3d.; Hugh Hall, 17s. 6d.; Kelloe, 17s. 6d.; Carradoe, 18s.; Gosforth, 17s.; Eden Main, 17s.; New Belmont, 17s. 3d.; Hartley's, 17s. 3d. Fresh ships, 78; left, 13—total, 91. At sea, 15.

Advertisements.

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For Bedsteads, wide	3ft. 6in.	4ft. 6in.	5ft.
Best straw palliasses ..	2 s. d.	2 s. d.	2 s. d.
Best French alva mattresses ..	0 13 6	0 16 0	0 18 6
Best cotton flock mattresses ..	0 13 6	0 17 6	0 19 0
Coloured wool mattresses ..	1 1 6	1 2 6	1 6 6
Best brown wool mattresses ..	1 7 0	1 12 6	1 15 0
Best brown ditto, extra thick ..	1 11 0	1 17 6	2 0 0
Good white wool mattresses ..	1 19 0	2 9 0	2 17 0
Extra super ditto, ditto ..	2 17 0	3 13 0	4 1 0
Good horsehair ditto ..	2 5 0	2 18 0	3 6 6
Extra super ditto ..	3 1 0	3 18 0	4 10 0
German spring hair-stuffing ..	3 8 6	4 0 4	4 18 0
Extra super ditto ..	4 5 0	5 8 0	5 19 0
French wool and hair mattress for use over spring ..	2 17 0	3 15 0	4 7 0
Extra super ditto, ditto ..	3 11 0	4 9 0	5 0 0
Feather beds, poultry, in good tick	1 18 0	2 7 0	—
Do. do. grey goose, in bordered linen ticks ..	3 2 0	4 2 0	4 13 6
Do. do. best white do. in best linen	4 14 0	6 8 0	7 7 0

Feather Pillows, 2s. to 10s. 6d.; Bolsters, from 6s. to 11s. 6d. each.

Down Pillows, from 10s. 6d. to 17s. 6d.

Blankets, Counterpanes, and Sheets, in every variety.

PATENT IRON BEDSTEADS, fitted with dovetail joints and patent locking on castors, from 11s. to 14s.

Ornamental Iron and Brass Bedsteads in great variety, from 14s. to 45s. 5s.

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WALTER C. TREVELYAN, Bart., President.

THE ALLIANCE VOLUNTARY OR PERMISSIVE PROHIBITORY BILL.

In order to attain the objects of the Alliance the General Council have resolved to promote a permissive prohibitory measure, which proposal has met with a cordial acceptance in all parts of the United Kingdom, especially amongst the working classes. By this it is not proposed to ask for an imperial enactment there and then prohibiting the traffic in intoxicating liquors, but simply to give to towns and parishes power to prevent the granting or renewing of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors, when the owners and occupiers of property within the district vote by a majority of two to one to that effect. Thus the law would not operate within such districts as were not wishful to secure its benefits; but would only take effect as the result of a direct expression of a preponderating public opinion.

The preamble of the bill sets forth that,—
“Whereas the common sale of intoxicating liquors is a fruitful source of crime, immorality, pauperism, disease, insanity, and premature death, whereby not only the individuals who give way to drinking habits are plunged into misery, but grievous wrong is done to the persons and property of her Majesty's subjects at large, and the public rates and taxes are greatly augmented; and whereas it is right and expedient to confer upon the ratepayers of cities, boroughs, parishes, and townships the power to prohibit such common sale as aforesaid—Be it therefore enacted,” &c.

The bill provides that, on application of any district, the votes of the ratepayers shall be taken as to the propriety of adopting the provisions of the Act; but that a majority of at least two-thirds of the votes taken shall be necessary in order to decide that question in the affirmative.

The Act itself would, when once adopted, prohibit within that district all traffic in intoxicating liquor for common purposes.

A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT'S REASONS FOR VOTING FOR THE PERMISSIVE BILL.

Amongst the various speeches delivered by Members of Parliament on the Alliance question, Mr. Barnes, M.P. for Bolton, in an address to his constituents on the 24th January, 1866, in reference to the Intoxicating Liquors Bill, for the second reading of which he voted, said:—

“I did approve of that which I looked upon as the principle of the bill, and which the promoter himself, Mr. Lawson, looked upon as the principle of the bill, and that is, giving to ratepayers and residents in any place a voice in saying whether or not there shall be public-houses or beerhouses in any particular place. (‘Hear, hear,’ and applause.) Now, in granting licences as at present, it has long appeared to me to be an unfair and improper thing that they should be granted as they now are. We can't shut our eyes to the fact that public-houses and beerhouses very often are a great annoyance and a great nuisance to quiet and orderly people. (Hear, hear.) This may be no fault of the man who keeps the house, and no reflection upon him; we can only deal with the thing as it is. We see it, and we feel it, that such is the case, and therefore it does appear to me to be an unfair thing that a magistrate or magistrates, or the excise, should have the power of opening a public-house or a beerhouse in any locality they may think proper, without saying one word to the people that live in that locality. (Applause.) There are six parties, you may say, interested in the question of opening a new public-house or beerhouse. One is the owner of the house; the second are the owners of houses round about; the third is the man who is to keep the house, the occupant; the fourth are the occupants of other houses in the neighbourhood; the fifth is the buyer of the beer, or the traveller—for the law supposes that all these houses are for travellers, they are places of refreshment; and the sixth is the excise. Now out of these six parties, I would ask, how many of them are deeply interested in these houses being open? Why the excise, certainly, because it gets the benefit of the tax; the owner of the house, because it raises the value of the property; and the occupant, because it is his trade. Those three are all interested. Well, but all these three put together don't weigh in my mind equal to two of the others—that is, the owners of the other property round about, and the people who live round about. (Hear, hear.) To my notion they are far more important than the others, and before any house is opened anywhere the question should be put, ‘Is there need for such a house? Do you object to it?’ (Hear, hear.) But at the present moment we know, and I have seen it myself in more cases than one, perfect terror seizes the inhabitants of certain districts when it has been supposed that a public-house or beerhouse was going to be opened in that place. This ought not to be—(Hear, hear.)—and because this bill of Mr. Lawson's was based upon the principle of consulting the residents or ratepayers of the locality, I gave it my support. (Applause.) Had the second reading been passed, it would have been moulded and shaped very much different to what it was; but if we can only get that principle acknowledged and put into operation, I have no doubt we shall witness a great change and a great improvement.”—The Bolton Chronicle.

THE ALLIANCE GUARANTEE FUND—£50,000.

The General Council of the Alliance, at its recent Annual Meeting in the Free Trade Hall, resolved to aid the Executive in raising a Guarantee Fund of not less than FIFTY THOUSAND POUNDS, towards which upwards of Thirty-three Thousand Pounds have been already promised, including the following sums.

The Subscriptions to the Guarantee Fund will be payable by instalments of 20 per cent. per annum (or by quarterly instalments of 6 per cent.), spread over FIVE YEARS, commencing from October 1st, 1866.

* Subscriptions to this fund will take the place of the usual annual contributions.

	£	s.	d.
Sir Walter C. Trevelyan, Bart.	3,000	0	0
Benjamin Whitworth, Esq., M.P.	2,000	0	0
Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart.	2,500	0	0
Charles Jupp, Esq., Mers. Wilt.	2,000	0	0
William Baring, Esq., Glasgow	500	0	0
Robert Whitworth, Esq., Manchester	500	0	0
John Stuart, Esq., Manchester	500	0	0
John Priestman, Esq., Bradford	500	0	0
William Saunders, Esq., Plymouth	500	0	0
James King, Esq., Rochdale	300	0	0
Charleston, Robert, Bristol	250	0	0
Harvey, William, J.P., Salford	250	0	0
Armitage, William, Manchester	250	0	0
Backhouse, Edward, Sunderland	250	0	0
Hoyle, William, Tootington, Bury	250	0	0
Sharrman, Abraham, Sheffield	250	0	0
Crabtree, Henry, Manchester	200	0	0
Smalley, Robert, Bolton	200	0	0
Wylie, James, Huddersfield, Herts.	200	0	0
Lawson, Wilfrid, Aspatia	150	0	0
Pearson, G. and E., Manchester	150	0	0
Noel, Hon., and Rev. Leland, Exton	150	0	0
Holden, James, Manchester	150	0	0
Hammer, Llewellyn, Manchester	125	0	0
Beakbane, Mrs., Seaford, Liverpool	125	0	0
Cudbury, James, Banbury	100	0	0
Eccles, A. E., Manchester	100	0	0
Fildes, James, Manchester	100	0	0
Gibson, Ann, Saffron Walden	100	0	0
Clegg, Thomas, Manchester	100	0	0
Pope, Samuel, Barrister-at-Law, London	100	0	0
Gale, Rev. H., D.C.L., Treborough	100	0	0
Broadhead, Rogers, Sheffield	100	0	0
Williams, J. R., Liverpool	100	0	0
Walker, B., Nottingham	100	0	0
Hargreaves, William, Sheffield	100	0	0
Muir, William, Manchester	100	0	0
Newman, Professor F. W., London	100	0	0
Tatham, George, Leeds	100	0	0
Whiting, John, Leeds	100	0	0
Wilson, Charles, Sunderland	100	0	0
Barlow, James, Bolton	100	0	0
Platt, Thomas, Padfield	100	0	0
Jones, Elijah, Hanley	100	0	0
Whitehead, J. B., J.P., Rawtenstall	100	0	0
Warner, E. P., Oaksey, Cirencester	100	0	0
Lawson, Miss and Sisters, Brayton	100	0	0
Wilson, Caleb S., Sunderland	100	0	0
Rand, William, J.P., Bradford	100	0	0
West, William, London	100	0	0
A Friend, per B. W., Manchester	100	0	0
Searle, William, Liverpool	100	0	0
A Friend, per J. R. W., Liverpool	100	0	0
Walker, B., Lenton, Nottingham	100	0	0
Backhouse, Alfred, Darlington	100	0	0
McGavin, John, Glasgow	100	0	0
Watson, Charles, Halifax	100	0	0
Watt, J. H., Glasgow	100	0	0
Trevelyan, Arthur, J.P., Tyneholme, Traut	100	0	0
Crossley, John, Halifax	100	0	0
Boyd, James, Manchester	100	0	0
Bazley, Thos., M.P.	100	0	0
Hoyle, James, jun., Tootington, Bury	100	0	0
Farrant, R. E., London	100	0	0
Jackson, Edward, Manchester	100	0	0
Kitching, R. C., J.P., Kirkham	100	0	0
Martindale, Mrs. M. H., Blackpool	100	0	0
Dawbarn, Richard, Wisbeach	100	0	0
Graham, D., Over Darwen	100	0	0
Holland, T. J., Manchester	100	0	0
Gaskill, James, Manchester	100	0	0
Midwood, F., New Mills	100	0	0
Lee, W. H., Wakefield	100	0	0
Bisco, Sir Robert, Bart., Wigton	100	0	0
Collie, Alexander, London	100	0	0
Hope, John, W. S., Edinburgh (1st year)	100	0	0
Darby, C. E., Brymbo, Wrexham	100	0	0
Wilson, Henry, Sunderland	100	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Cowen, Joseph, jun., Blaydon	100	0	0
Richardson, J. G., Moyallen	100	0	0
Kitching, Broster, Leeds	100	0	0
Thorp, Joseph, Halifax	75	0	0
Braby, F., London	75	0	0
A Friend of the Temperance Cause	60	0	0
Livesey, George, London	60	0	0
Dunn, Andrew, London	52	10	0
Smedley, John, Matlock	52	10	0
Greenwood, John, Pendleton	50	0	0
Cotterell, J. H., J.P., Bath	50	0	0
Guest, John, Rotherham	50	0	0
Travis, G. W., Sheffield	50	0	0
Wildblood, William, Burslem	50	0	0
Lingford, John, Bishop Aukland	50	0	0
Nelson, J. E., Manchester	50	0	0
S. H., Leeds	50	0	0
A'Beckett, Sir William, London	50	0	0
Whitwell, Edward, Kendal	50	0	0
Heywood, William, Manchester	50	0	0
Renton and Co., Manchester	50	0	0
Wilkinson, T. R., Manchester	50	0	0
Thorp, Fielden, York	50	0	0
Hutchinson, Jonathan, Selby	50	0	0
Wainwright, R. A., London	50	0	0
Kay, James C., Bury	50	0	0
Kay, John Robinson, Bury	50	0	0
Darby, C. E., Brymbo	50	0	0
Kay, Thomas, Woolfold, Bury	50	0	0
Dibley, George, London	50	0	0
Riley, John, Barnes, London	50	0	0
A Friend, London	50	0	0
Allen, Richard, Dublin	50	0	0
Preston, Walsley, Manchester	50	0	0
Emmott, Thomas, Oldham	50	0	0
Service, Robert, Culteruch, Fintry	50	0	0
Hodgkinson, James, Eccles	50	0	0
Smedley Brothers, Belper	50	0	0
Brookes, William, Manchester	50	0	0
McKerrrow, J. B., Manchester	50	0	0
Mackenzie, John, M.D., J.P., Inverness	50	0	0
Sugden, John, Manchester	50	0	0
E. T., per B. Whitworth, M.P.	50	0	0
Tugwell, A. John, Scarborough	50	0	0
Walker, Joseph, Salford	50	0	0
P. D. H., Manchester	50	0	0
Heywood, Alderman Robert, J.P., Bolton	50	0	0
Allison, W., Selby, Yorkshire	50	0	0
Candler, B. J., Birkenhead	50	0	0
Edie and Spencer, Glasgow	50	0	0
Le Mare, E. R., Manchester	50	0	0
Smith, John, Glasgow	50	0	0
Simpson, Robert, Glasgow	50	0	0
Cameron, John, Manchester	50	0	0
Cosham, Handel, Bristol	50	0	0
Hoyle, James, sen., Bury	50	0	0
Harwood, Lawrence, Bolton	50	0	0
Lupton, John, Leeds	50	0	0
C. M., Sheffield	50	0	0
Malcomson, W., Portlaw, Co. Waterford	50	0	0
Stather, Lieut. Col., Woodchester, Stroud	50	0	0

The Executive earnestly appeal to all friends of public order and national sobriety, to assist in the accomplishment of this great effort. The manifold evils of the present system are universally admitted and deplored; and the Alliance comes forward with a remedy at one simple and effective.

A PERMISSIVE VETO VINDICATED.

The Alliance argues that the power of vetoing all the licenses of a district should not reside with the magistrates alone, who seldom use it, but should be legally deposited with the people, or the ratepaying section of them, to be employed by them, when, by a great majority of votes, they so determine. The argument for this veto is based on two propositions:—1st. That the licensing system seeks to provide that licences shall be granted only (1) when they are required by the public wants; (2) when they can be used without originating public nuisances. 2ndly. That the public are, at least, equally qualified, and equally entitled with the magistrates to decide whether their wants include liquor licences; and whether, judging from experience, the licences will be an injury to their interests. The objections to this course are evasive rather than substantial, and are grounded in personal predilection rather than in public justice.

It is assumed by one objector that the veto would be exercised, and then he objects to it as an act of tyranny and oppression. With the same reason, or want of reason, a Conservative may object to giving constituencies a veto on the choice of Conservative candidates; and vice versa a Liberal may re-echo the objection. A man who thinks licences should be granted in a parish would be able to vote against the veto; but for him to object to the veto power is in effect to claim for himself a veto on the action of the people for their own protection. In denouncing tyranny, he proves himself the greatest of tyrants. If it be objected that the public generally ought not to be allowed to veto a traffic which a portion of them desire to be continued, the objection resolves itself into the right of the minority to rule the majority. Still more devoid of pertinence is the objection that to allow the permissive veto would be allowing parishes to legislate instead of Parliament. It might as well be contended that a railway company, when it uses the powers granted under its private act, is exercising the legislative prerogative. The objection is not more valid against the permissive veto than against all permissive acts, and is just as valid against the present system of magisterial jurisdiction as against a popular veto.

It is absolutely certain that the veto would not be exercised unless the bulk of the people in a district were persuaded that they could not enjoy in any other way that social protection to which they are entitled. If so persuaded, why should they be refused a trial of the veto? Common justice demands that as the licensing system is locally administered, one of three things should be provided: magisterial responsibility for the continuance of evils the system is designed to prevent, or compensation to the public for losses to property, health, and morals, consequent on the drink traffic; or a permissive veto, by which the inhabitants of any place might, when so inclined, dispense with licences for the sale of strong drink, and defend themselves against the results of the licensed sale.

To the objection that “intemperance is a moral evil, and ought to be abated without a resort to legislative agency,” it is sufficient to reply that other moral evils, such as gambling, defamation of character, dishonesty, and public indecency, are universally admitted to be proper objects of prohibitory legislation, and as the right to legislate against public evils carries with it the right to legislate against their public causes, the right of legislation against the traffic in strong drink by which the national evil of intemperance is produced, confirmed, and extended, cannot be successfully impugned.

The necessity for legislative interference, and in the form of a Permissive Act, is grounded on the social evils arising from public-house drinking and intemperance. Hence:

Pauperism, three fourths of which is traced by all authorities to drink, so that in England alone 703,000 paupers owe position as such to that cause. Hence:

Premature deaths, of which nearly 30,000 annually are, on a careful estimate, believed to spring directly from the effects of drink, and an equal number from the diseases, accidents, cruelties, and privations suffered by innocent persons from the drinking habits of others.

THE ALLIANCE FIRST PRIZE ESSAY, Price 1s.

Condensed Edition, 6d.

THE ALLIANCE NEWS, published Weekly, Price 1d.

Manchester: United Kingdom Alliance; London: Job Caudwell, 335, Strand.

Published by ARTHUR MIALI, at No. 18, Boulevard-street, Fleet-street, London; and printed by ROBERT KINGSTON BURT, Holborn-hill, London.—Wednesday, May 2, 1866.